5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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Ni-tot'-si-ksis-stan-iks	Kill Close By.
Mo-twai'-naiks	All Chiefs.
Mo-kŭm'-iks	Red Round Robes.
Mo-tah'-tos-iks	Many Medicines.

It will be readily seen from the translations of the above that each gens takes its name from some peculiarity or habit it is supposed to possess. It will also be noticed that each tribe has a few gentes common to one or both of the other [166] tribes. This is caused by persons leaving their own tribe to live with another one, but, instead of uniting with some gens of the adopted tribe, they have preserved the name of their ancestral gens for themselves and their descendants.

601 The Blackfoot terms of relationship will be found interesting. The principal family names are as follows: —

My father	*Ni'-nah.*
My mother	*Ni-kis'-ta.*
My elder brother	*Nis'-ah*
My younger brother	*Nis-kun'.*
My older sister	*Nin'-sta.*
My younger sister	*Ni-sis'-ah.*
My uncle	*Nis'-ah.*
My aunt	*Ni-kis'-ta.*
My cousin, male	Same as brother.
My cousin, female	Same as sister.
My grandfather	*Na-ahks'.*
My grandmother	*Na-ahks'.*
My father-in-law	*Na-ahks'.*
My mother-in-law	*Na-ahks'.*
My son	*No-ko'-si.*
My daughter	*Ni-tun'.*
My son-in-law	*Nis'-ah.*
My daughter-in-law	*Ni-tot'-o-kĭ-man.*
My brother-in-law older than self	*Nis-tum-o'.*
My brother-in-law younger than self	*Nis-tum-o'-kun.*
My sister-in-law	*Ni-tot'-o-ke-man.*
My second cousin	*Nimp'-sa.*
My wife	*Nit-o-kĭ'-man.*
My husband	*No'-ma.*

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Men's Societies

575 182 [625] [561] [689] [684] [571] In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief agents of tribal discipline.[156] They maintained order in the camp and on the march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades, developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittleness of Blood relationships.

572 608 [178] [836] [601] One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*, his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other, and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relationships.

575 572 561 Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fighters," but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*. The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme."[157]

575 182 178 [561] [796] But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-grade, the societies themselves retain little of their former importance. There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches. Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting and exchange.

575 [162] In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seisers, 25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

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[156] For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–460; for age grades and police power, pp. 365–70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.
[157] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

I. The Kinship System

In this paper we shall first present the kinship structure and subsequently seek to understand some of its implications from the point of view of the cultural totality.[1] In Section III will be found a list of kinship terms with their definitions. Our terminological data were gathered mainly from seven informants, three males and four females. The remainder of our material is taken from scattered references in our field notes.

Generally speaking, the Northern Blackfoot, or *siksika*, make eight kinds of distinction in designating kinsmen: Kin names are distinguished (1) by generation, (2) by relative age, (3) by sex of kinsman, (4) by sex of the speaker, (5) according to whether relatives are in the mother's, father's or affinal families, (6) according to whether they are members of a particular line of relatives, (7) according to whether or not they reside with ego, (8) according to the marital status of certain women. Not all of these distinctions are operative in any single case, nor is any single distinction operative throughout. From these distinctions we have constructed the schema of Figure 1 which illustrates some of the ways in which a Northern Blackfoot views his relatives. The horizontal line through ego divides those older than ego from those younger than ego. The circle surrounding ego demarks an hypothetical group of relatives in what we call an *orientation* group. From this center radiate lines indicating the mother's, the father's and the affinal family, in each of which the two sexes are distinguished. Below ego are his descendants and the descendants of his collaterals distinguished according to sex.

Presently the membership of each of these groups will be considered in detail. Now a few preliminary remarks on general features of the system as a whole may clarify our presentation.

We may consider Blackfoot kinship on the basis of the social distance implied by the terms themselves. The greatest social distance is expressed by the term "grandparent." Those called "father" or "mother" have considerably greater intimacy in relation to ego, as the equivalent terms connote in our own cultural setting. Between siblings, generally speaking, social distance is least, and the culture expects cordial relations.

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[1] The spelling of the Blackfoot kinship terms is reasonably correct, but unforeseen conditions prevent a final check at this time. They will be checked in a later publication.

A.[See Category 601, pp. 29-31--Analyst]

601 602 Applying these considerations to the kinship system, we observe in father's family a high concentration of persons termed "grandparent," and in general there is considerable social distance between these individuals and ego. Mother's family, on the other hand, contains a high concentration of mothers, fathers and brothers, and social distance is generally less. The affinal family, however, contains a large number of grandparents, where again social distance is considerable.

Two general principles of reckoning social distance enter here. In father's family age is a clear factor. As one approaches ego's own age level, the social

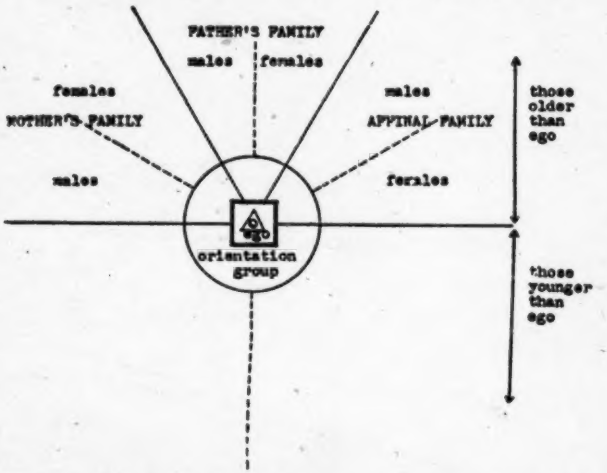

Fig. 1.—Showing schematically the relation of a male or female ego to categories of kinsmen, as mediated by the orientation group.

distance decreases, so that persons of like age are more intimate. In mother's family and in the affinal family of a man, generation becomes the main principle of establishing social distance; e.g., wife's sisters are less distant than wife's mother.

[593] Sex introduces a further complicating factor. A boy reaching puberty learns increasingly to respect his sister, thus introducing social distance in his relationship to her. At her marriage, if it has not already occurred by the time of puberty, social distance is formally recognized when the sister depresses her brother one generation terminologically. Though it does not

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren."

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson."

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organization. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterizes the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America.

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organisation is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organised groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood.

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɪn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*nɪkɪs'ta*), older brother (*nɪ'sᵊ*), older sister (*nɪn'sta*), and younger sibling (*nɪskɪn.'ᵊ* for a

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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596 male speaker and *nisis.'*[a] for a female speaker).[a] If we extend to ego the posi-
●601 tion of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nitzki.'man*), son (*nuzku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found
591 no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a
592 suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living
[601] elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence,
[593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow
[606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a
[587] male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among
[735] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are
602 points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons
601 of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would im-
[124] ply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'..." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

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[a] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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group to serve as a center of reference. The term *nitzki.'man* may be distinguished from *nitoto'zki.man*. The first refers to my wife; the second refers to my wife's sister married to another man or to the wife of my comrade. The infix *o* refers to distance or separation, and the foregoing term with this infix may be translated, as our interpreters were wont to do, "my 'distant' wife." The corresponding term is "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ᵃ*), which may be contrasted with "husband" (*nom.'a*). We find a similar distinction between the terms for own children and grandchildren: thus my daughter is *nitan.'a* while my granddaughter is *nis.otan.'a*, suggesting that the latter may be considered as a daughter through one's own daughter or a distant daughter. Michelson has also noticed this infix, though he referred only to its presence in *nitoto'zki.man*.[3]

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Father's Family

We include the males and females of the direct patrilineal line and its collaterals, ego's own siblings and paternal male parallel cousins. Though we have included ego's own siblings and father in the group of orientation, for the sake of showing the extent of the terminological principle, we reinclude them here. Males in father's family are addressed according to relative age with reference to ego and ego's father. This makes five logical possibilities for naming, all of which are used: (1) Those older than father and their wives are called "grandparent" (*naa'xsᵃ*). (2) Those of father's age are called "father," i.e., "father's comrade," and their wives are called "mother." (3) Those younger than father but older than ego are called "older brother," and their wives are called "mother" by male and unmarried female speakers; after being married, a woman calls an older brother's wife "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpsᵃ*). (4) Those of ego's age of either sex are called "comrade" (*nitak.'a*); wives of comrades are called by men "'distant' wife" (*nitoto'zki.man*); husbands of comrades are called by women "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ᵃ*). The term of address for the husband of a female comrade as spoken by a male is "older brother" or "younger sibling"; for the wife of a male comrade as spoken by a female it is "older sister" or "younger sibling". (5) Siblings or first generation descendants of older brothers, if these descendants are younger than ego, are called "younger sibling," and the wives of these men are called "daughter-in-law" by both sexes. This is diagrammed in Figure 2.

601

The females of father's family are designated according to generation. All women of father's generation or of the preceding generations and their husbands are blanketed as "grandparent." Women of ego's generation are called "younger sibling" or "older sister." Though generation is the general

[3] Michelson, T. *Piegan Kinship System*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, D. C. 1916, p. 320 f.

[113]

[60] principle for designating these females, in practice age enters also to determine the relationship term. A woman of ego's generation who is considerably [178] older than ego may be addressed as "grandparent." Some younger people today extend the term "older sister" to include the younger sister of father, if she is not younger than ego, but this practise is disapproved of by the older Indians.

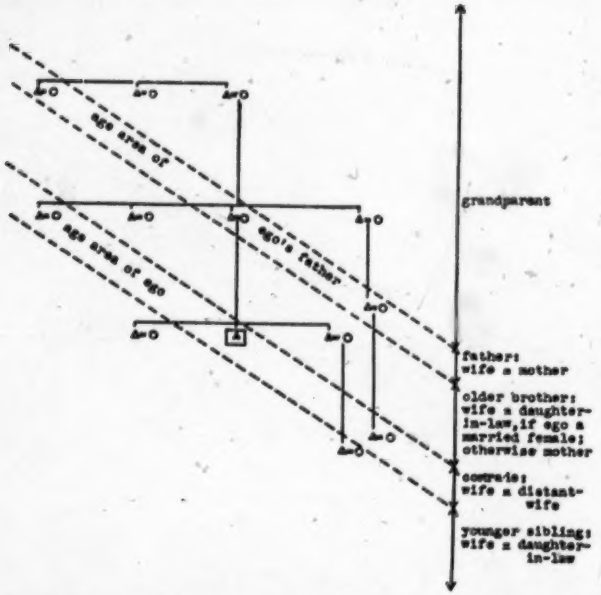

Fig. 2.—Showing the basis of terminological distinction among the males and their wives of father's family by age with relation to ego and ego's father.

Mother's Family

The sex and marital status of the speaker is of paramount importance in addressing the mother's family. Unmarried females and married or unmarried males address all men of mother's family as "older brother" until these males pass below the age level of ego when they become "younger sibling." This form of address disregards generation. One exception, how-

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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ever, should be noted, that the siblings of mother's father are termed "grandparent," though their male descendants in mother's generation become "older brother" or "younger sibling." The wives of these older brothers are called "mother"; the wives of younger male siblings are called "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpo*ˢ). [601]

Women of mother's family are designated according to generation regardless of sex or marital status of the speaker. The women of mother's mother's generation are "grandparent"; those of mother's generation are "mother"; those of ego's own generation are "older sister" or "younger sibling." The husbands of these women are given the corresponding male relationship term of the woman whom they marry; thus men marrying women in

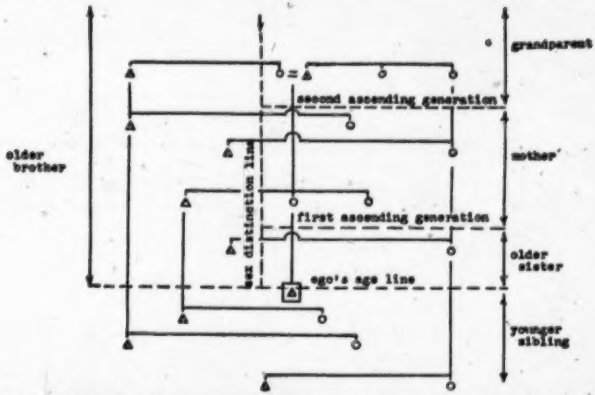

Fig. 3.—Showing the form of address for mother's family and its collaterals by male and unmarried female ego.

mother's mother's generation are "grandparent," in mother's generation are "father," and in ego's own generation are "sister's husband" (*nistamo'*) for the males and "distant husband" (*nitotoyom.'*ˢ) for the females. This means of designation is illustrated in Figure 3.

On marrying, the status of the woman is suddenly elevated with respect to the males of her mother's family. All males called "older brother" are lowered a generation by the female speaker. Though it is not shown by a change of the term of address for this man, it is revealed in two other ways: first, his wife is no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpo*ˢ); second, his children are called "grandson" (*nis.xku'*ˢ) and "granddaughter" (*nis.otan.'*ˢ) rather than "older sibling" or "younger sibling." In [602]

601 addressing the women of mother's family and their husbands no change is made over the premarital form of address. This is diagrammed in Figure 4.

Affinal Family

Sex of the speaker is an important criterion here. A wife's father, her father's siblings, her mother, and her mother's sisters are called "grand-

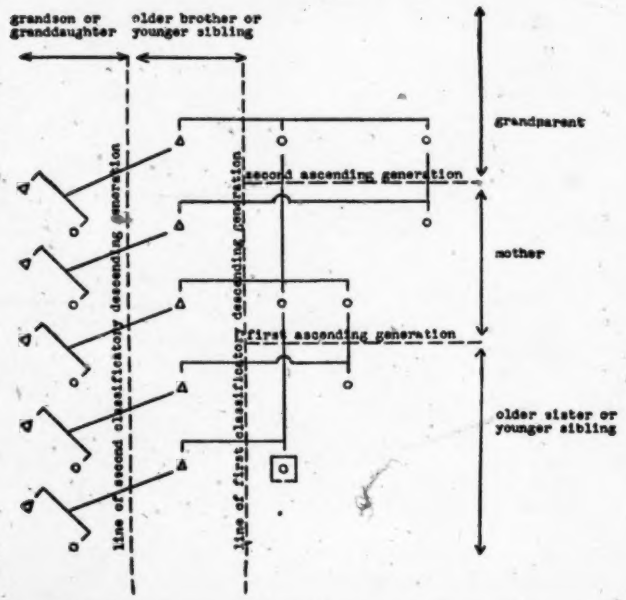

Fig. 4.—Showing the form of address for mother's family and its collaterals by a married female ego.

parent" whether older or younger than ego. Wife's brothers regardless of age and wife's mother's brothers are all called "wife's brother" (*nista-mox'kua*); the wives of these men are "daughter-in-law." All wife's brothers, regardless of generation, produce "grandchildren." All wife's sisters regardless of age are called "distant wife," and their husbands are called "comrade." Children of wife's sisters are "son" and "daughter."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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The female ego, addressing her husband's family, calls all persons older than her husband "grandparent." Those members of the family younger than her husband are, according to their sex, "son" or "daughter"; i.e., all persons who are called "younger sibling" by her husband become her "son" and "daughter." The children of these "sons" and "daughters" are "grandson" and "granddaughter." From our evidence a woman before marriage addresses her older brother's wife as "mother," and the latter replies by saying "daughter." After the marriage of the woman termed "daughter," the newly married woman calls her older brother's wife "daughter-in-law," though the brother's wife continues to call her "daughter" and addresses her daughter's husband as "son-in-law" (*ms.*). The usual relationship of avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law is optional here.

Those Younger than Ego

It will have been observed that for a male speaker both mother's and father's families produce "siblings," as the descendants approach the age level of ego. An older brother produces generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass below ego's age level. Likewise older sisters produce generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass the age level of ego. After passing the age level of ego, all these descendants of older siblings are called "younger sibling." At this point a difference occurs based on the sex of the younger sibling. Children of male younger siblings become ego's "grandchildren." Children of female younger siblings eternally produce "younger siblings." Thus only through a male descendant or male younger sibling can the male speaker have grandchildren. This is diagrammed in Figure 5.

For a female speaker (Fig. 6), brother's children, regardless of age, are "grandchildren," and as we have previously noted, this extends to the classificatory older brothers in mother's family. Sister's children regardless of age of the sister are her "sons" and "daughters" whose children become "grandchildren."

The wives of grandchildren are called by both sexes "daughter-in-law." The husbands of grandchildren are called by both sexes "son-in-law."

Variations in Terminology

We have attempted to present here what might be called the classic Blackfoot nomenclature of kin terms, formulated into a fairly coherent system. We must also note certain variations from this picture. Due to our small sample it is meaningless to place these forms of address in frequency distributions, so that we shall merely note the presence of variations.

There is a current tendency to classify females as well as males of the

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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601 178 father's family in terms of age relative to ego and ego's father, instead of generation. Here father's younger sister older than ego changes from "grandparent" to "older sister," and father's younger sister younger than ego becomes "younger sibling." This practise seems confined to younger people of the reserve.

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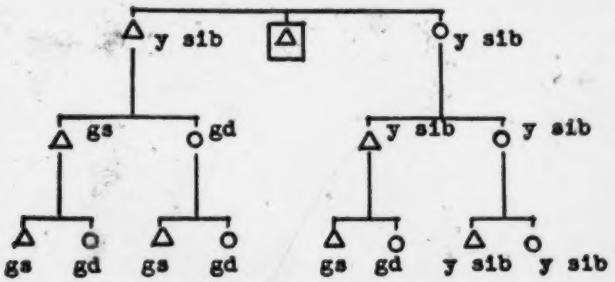

Fig. 5.—Showing the form of address for descendants of younger siblings for a male ego.

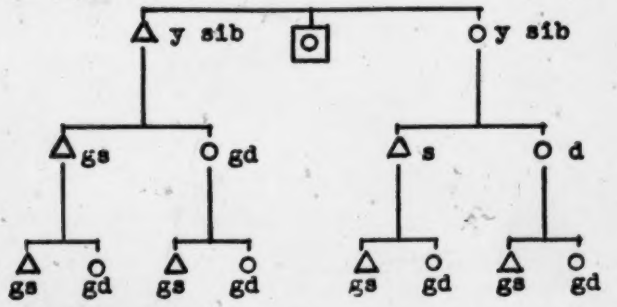

Fig. 6.—Showing the form of address for descendants of younger siblings for a female ego.

601 178 In mother's family mother's mother's brother is sometimes addressed as "grandparent" instead of "older brother," as we have shown. In the corresponding generations below ego the children of a sister's daughter are then called "grandchild" rather than "younger sibling." This is also a trend among the younger people of the reserve.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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We have also noted a certain looseness in the form of address toward persons who are two generations apart. If the age difference is considerable, a grandparent-grandchild relationship may be formed, but if the age difference is less, the two may address each other as some form of sibling. Due to this emphasis on age, some males may have more than one generation of younger siblings through a younger sibling of the speaker's own generation.

Comparison with Other Blackfoot Nomenclatures

The differences to be noted in what follows may be due to different time levels in the collection of data, to differences in sampling, or to variations within the Blackfoot-speaking tribes.

Wissler's terms, gathered largely from the South Piegan, bear a certain resemblance to ours in such terms as "father," "older sister," "younger sibling," "father-" and "mother-in-law," "son's wife" and "husband of my sister" (female speaking).[4] However, there are numerous differences in the words employed: South Piegan call mother *nikso'stak* while the Northern Blackfoot use the term *nikaa'ta*. The South Piegan male ego distinguishes grandparents as to sex, but not the Northern Blackfoot. The Northern Blackfoot have only one term for older sister and not two terms, as spoken by male and female South Piegans. More important differences are that for a male ego all women of mother's generation, including mother's brother's wife and father's sisters are all called "mother." Instead, the Northern Blackfoot call father's sisters "grandparent." Wissler did not find distinctions between father's older brother and his younger brother as in our findings.

Michelson's own data from the North Piegan and the Blood are much more in keeping with ours, and the phonetic renditions of the terms are probably more accurate than the ones we have given.[5] His terms *ni'ta' kyōma*[ss] and *noyi'n'nāw*[ss] are collective terms of which we found only the first. It refers (male speaking) to all of a man's sisters. An exception to his use of *ni'so'tan'na*[ss] occurs in our data; "granddaughter" refers among the Northern Blackfoot not to all daughters of younger siblings, as do the data on the North Piegan. Instead we found it necessary to distinguish according to the sex of the speaker: a male ego calls younger sister's children "younger sibling," while a female ego calls younger sister's children "son" and "daughter." Both male and female Northern Blackfoot speakers call younger brother's children "grandchildren." We found no use of the word *nito'toxko'*[ss] (probably "my distant son") by the female speaker, for among

[4] Wissler, C., *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, Anthropological Papers, AMNH, 1911, Vol. 7, part I, p. 15.

[5] Michelson, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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601 184 the Northern Blackfoot sister's son is always addressed as "son." No special terms referring to step-parents or stepchildren were in use on the Northern Blackfoot reserve, according to our data. *Ni'm'sa*^{m}, which is probably the Piegan equivalent of our *ni'mps*^{a}, is more broadly used among the Northern Blackfoot than among the Northern Piegan. In addition to being "my daughter-in-law," and "my younger sibling's wife," our data show it as "wife of grandson." Female speakers after marriage use it in reference to the wives of all brothers. In another place we found only two terms where Michelson distinguishes three: *ni'*^{m}*sa*^{m} for elder brother, probably our *ni'*^{a}; *ni'ha*^{m} for son-in-law, probably our *nis.*^{a}; *ni'š* for brother-in-law spoken by a female for which we found no phonetic equivalent. Females of the Northern Blackfoot address their husband's brothers, if elder than husband, as "grandparent"; if younger than husband, as "son." Females address their sister's husband as "distant husband." Another difference is that we have no single term referring to all members of the second ascending generation; all are "grandparents" except mother's mother's brother who is "older brother." *nitsi'ña'axs* for "my grandfather" did not appear in our field notes; this suffix *nitsi* is sometimes used to indicate special possession as "my own" or "my very own," showing particular endearment. The term taken by Michelson from Morgan, *n'-do'-to'yose* or *nito'toyōš*, did not occur in our notes. We guess that this may be our *nitstoyo'* which occurred once as an alternative word spoken by a female for "sister's husband"; the more usual word is *nitotoyom.'*^{a}. *nitstoyom.'*^{a} is the term for a particularly dear distant husband, since it contains the suffix *nitsi*. Perhaps these terms found by Morgan and Michelson are similar variants.

The differences center largely around two main points. The first is that neither Wissler nor Michelson found the Piegan or Blood overriding generations because of an emphasis on age. Thus father's younger brother was not distinguished by any of these investigators from father's older brother. The second difference lies in the distinctive treatment by the Northern Blackfoot of the men of mother's family; Blood and Piegan do not seem to regard the female line as requiring special treatment.

II. Discussion

Seniority

561 [701] The age-grading of the males in father's family is the analogue of a broad practice of emphasizing senior authority among the Northern Blackfoot. On the testing ground of juvenile games the older boys directed the ordeals for the younger ones. On the warpath the elder initiated the party, assumed leadership on the march and divided the spoils. Indeed, an older warrior,

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*natax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182] [152] [154]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen-

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561 iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a
571 family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the com-
[602] rades, who were for the most part outside the kin group.

Generation

561 As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree
602 between females, the concept of generation was the more important one
601 ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than
593 ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main
561 types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moc-
[844] casins for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to
[595] repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed
603 the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship
561 of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.

561 These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All
601 women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren." At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister
[178] was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however, the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling

maternal cross-cousins "grandchildren," as one would expect them to reply to the term "grandchild" with the corresponding term "grandmother." Occasional cases appear in our notes where an older person calls his father's sister's child affectionately "little grandmother." If this evidence is sufficient, the paternal cross-cousins were once elevated by the females, while the maternal cross-cousins were once depressed two generations. We con-

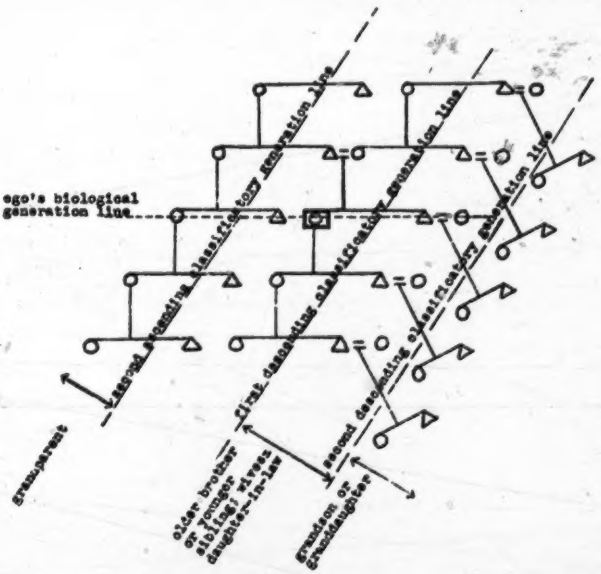

Fig. 7.--Showing the classificatory generation lines for a married female ego with reference to the ascending and descending lines of father's sister and mother's brother.

strue this as a second way of calculating generation. It is diagrammed in Figure 7.

That this second kind of generation reckoning was not entirely nominal may be seen from several cases. Our informants described father's sister, called "grandparent," as one of the most remote and awe-inspiring relatives. In one case a woman was being disparaged by our informant, and as evidence

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For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another. 593 592 581

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt. 581 593 [606]

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nustamo'* while he replied to them with *nustamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security. 601 607 [554] 561 602 607

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 601 607 [554] 607 585

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607 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[577] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and ma'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
582 obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male

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a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

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It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests.

Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism.

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp.

Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

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case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary.

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib-

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561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
178 The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed "grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontoc-
657 racy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunt-
[554] ing and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers. Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day, freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the author-
[621] ity is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[182] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[622] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, pri-
[177] marily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus, through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

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through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political authority now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the management of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

III. Northern Blackfoot Kinship Terms*

1. *naa'ze*, "my grandparent."
   (a) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   (b) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under *5d*, *6d* and *7c*).
   (c) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   (d) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
   (e) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   (f) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   (g) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nan.'a*, "my father."
   (a) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
   (b) Husband of mother's sister.
   (c) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

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(*d*) (Married female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's father's sibling or mother's mother's sister.

3. **nɔksɔ'ta**, "my mother."
   (*a*) Mother; mother's co-wife; mother's sister.
   (*b*) Wife of father's comrade.
   (*c*) (Married female speaker.) Female of mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's father's sibling or of mother's mother's sister.
   (*d*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.
4. **nɔ'sɔ**, "my older brother."
   (*a*) Male sibling older than ego; mother's sister's son older than ego; father's comrade's son older than ego.
   (*b*) Male of father's family or its collateral younger than father but older than ego.
   (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Male older than ego of mother's family or its collateral except mother's father and his male sibling.
   (*d*) (Married female speaker.) Male older than ego who is a brother to the maternal female line: e.g. mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, etc.
   (*e*) (Married female speaker.) Male older than ego who is a first generation descendant of one of the following: of mother's father or his sibling; of a female in the maternal female line; of a daughter (daughter's daughter, etc.) of mother's father's sibling; of a daughter (daughter's daughter, etc.) of mother's mother's sister.
5. **nɔn'sta**, "my older sister."
   (*a*) Female child older than ego of mother, of mother's sister or of father's comrade.
   (*b*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Female older than ego in ego's generation of mother's family, father's family or their collaterals.
   (*c*) (Married female speaker.) Female older than ego in ego's generation of mother's family or father's family, except descendants of older brother in mother's family.
   (*d*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than father but older than ego.
6. **nɔksɔn.'ɔ**, "my younger sibling" (male speaker only).
   (*a*) Child younger than ego of mother (cf. 3).
   (*b*) Person younger than ego in father's family or its collateral who is a first generation descendant of ego's senior.
   (*c*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than ego.
7. **nɔsɔ.'ɔ**, "my younger sibling," (female speaker only).
   (*a*) Person younger than ego in father's family or its collateral who is first generation descendant of ego's senior.
   (*b*) Person younger than ego of ego's generation who is a child of ego's mother (cf. 3). (Note: after marriage wife of older brother becomes a daughter-in-law.)
   (*c*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than ego.
   (*d*) (Unmarried female.) Cf. 4*c*, using a male younger than ego as referent.
   (*e*) (Married female.) Cf. 4*d* and *e*, using a male younger than ego as referent.
   (*f*) Child of father's comrade younger than ego.
8. **nɔzku'a**, "my son."
   (*a*) (Male speaker.) Son; son of wife's sister; son of comrade.
   (*b*) (Female speaker.) Son; son of sister; son of comrade.

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(c) (Female speaker.) Younger brother of husband; first generation male descendant of husband's senior, if descendant is younger than husband. 601

9. *nitan.'a*, "my daughter."
   (a) (Male speaker.) Daughter; daughter of wife's sister; daughter of comrade.
   (b) (Female speaker.) Daughter; daughter of sister; daughter of comrade.
   (c) (Female speaker.) Sister of husband younger than husband; first generation female descendant of husband's senior, if descendant is younger than husband.
10. *nis.ɨku'ɨ*, "my grandson."
   (a) Male child of son or daughter.
   (b) Male child of younger brother.
   (c) (Married female speaker.) Male child of brother in mother's family or its collateral. (*Cf.* 4*d* and *e*; 7*e*.)
   (d) (Male speaker.) Child of wife's younger brother; child of males in wife's mother's family whom wife calls older or younger brother. (*Cf.* 4*e*; 7*e*.)
11. *nis.otan.'ɨ*, "my granddaughter." *Cf.* 10, using a female as referent.
12. *nom.'a*, "my husband" (female speaker.)
13. *nitxki.'man*, "my wife" (male speaker).
14. *nitotoyom.'ɨ*, "my distant husband" (female speaker).
   (a) Husband of sister, if sister married to some one other than ego's husband.
   (b) Husband of comrade.
15. *nitoto'xki.man*, "my distant wife" (male speaker).
   (a) Wife's sister, if married to some one other than ego.
   (b) Wife of comrade.
16. *nitak.'a*, "my comrade."
   (a) Related or unrelated male or female of the same age as ego.
   (b) (Male speaker.) Husband, if other than ego, of wife's sister.
17. *nistamo'*, "my sister's husband" (male speaker).
18. *nistamox'kua*, "my wife's brother" (male speaker).
19. *nis.'mpɨ*, "my daughter-in-law."
   (a) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Wife of younger sibling.
   (b) (Married female speaker.) Wife of brother (cf. 3*c*; 4; 7).
   (c) Wife of son.
   (d) Wife of grandson.
20. *nis.ɨ*, "my son-in-law."
   (a) Husband of daughter; of granddaughter.
21. *nitax'soku'*, "my in-law."
   (a) Parent or kinsman of son's or daughter's spouse.
   (b) Parent or kinsman of husband's or wife's sibling.
22. *nimuxpapi"ɨxpɨ*, "my brethren."
   All whom ego calls sibling.

602 the Indian people relationships are much more generalized
than among many others. For instance, all my female rela-
601 tives of AnadaAki's age are my grandmothers, as well as some
who are younger. Also, all the women of my tribe who lived
long ago are spoken of as grandmothers. In addition, it is com-
mon for any old woman in the tribe, when speaking kindly, to
call any young woman or girl "my grandaughter." So the
title of my book actually refers to the ways of the women of
my tribe, not just to the mothers of my parents.

551 AnadaAki's mother was named First-to-Kill by an old war-
rior who had once accomplished that distinction in battle.
First-to-Kill had a brother named Sweetgrass, and the two
were raised during the buffalo days. When she grew up she
married Joe Trollinger, who had arrived among the Bloods
from Germany. She became known as Lucy Trollinger and,
with her husband, she helped run a restaurant and hotel on
the wagon road between the Blood Reserve and the later city
of Calgary, which was then a fort and trading post. The
Bloods named her husband Last-to-Get-Angry, because his
favorite expression was: "You got angry first, now I'm going
to get angry." Travelers nicknamed him Rutabaga Joe be-
cause he had such a fondness for that vegetable.

586 Joe and Lucy had five children together, and four of them
lived past the age of ninety. AnadaAki was the youngest, and
the only one who didn't see her father. Her eldest sister was
deaf and dumb, but when Lucy found out that Joe was going
to take her to Germany for treatment she packed up all the
kids and moved back among the Bloods. Shortly afterward
she married a young warrior named Heavy Head, who took
the kids as his own. He and Lucy had no more children, but
177 AnadaAki was born shortly after they got together. In spite
of her full Blood upbringing, I can say that my grandma
definitely has ways and characteristics that are more commonly
considered German than Blood. Blue eyes are another sign
of her European ancestry.

Late in the afternoon those members of the Pigeon Society [who were able to relate personal exploits of bravery] formed a line, standing. Two of them rode a single horse; the others were all dismounted. They began to sing and approached the A-Kax and entered, then took a position in two rows; the riders rode their horses once completely around the enclosure, passing at the back between the banner [Weather Dancers' booth] and centre pole. Four Tom-toms [hand drums] and the same number of rattles were obtained for music. While the Pigeons danced and sang, relatives brought in piles of goods which were deposited at the feet of the dancer related to the giver. These presents were all gathered up by an old man and distributed to other people. Eagle Ribs [the uncle of our Mokakin] was taken by the arm and led out to the centre and left standing there. Pails of food were now brought in; generally a row of 4 or more pails were strung upon a stick and carried in by two squaws, each taking an end of the stick. Squaws [a foreign word to us, even though Wilson uses it often; a man calls his wife Aki, "woman," or Nitokeman, "my wife"] always put down the pails, and either left the enclosure or joined the crowd of women at the south and near the entrance. The food was distributed to all the people who had seated themselves inside, with bowls in front of them. Next pipes were filled, presented to an old man, blessed and smoked. They then danced three times without changing their positions in rows. Bob Tailed Chief [then a young member of the Pigeon Society—he later became one of our holy leaders] went and placed a stick at the feet of an old man, which meant that he had given him a horse, at which the old man stood up and made a long blessing over the liberal young man, whose wife came forward and shared it with him. A 4th dance was indulged in at close of which they danced out. Time was 8:10.

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[782]

The Pigeon Society was composed of young men who had few exploits to their record, and so

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[p.36-A]

me. He was very attached to me from the time I was born. I probably had an infant's name, but I don't know what it was. 551 553

"One time, that little boy came running into our lodge because he heard my crying. He looked at me and he said, 'That little child is very cute. He looks just like an atsisi.' Those are the birds that make their homes in the ground on the prairie. Some kinds stay in the woods, but this kind stays on the prairie; and we call it a prairie owl. 551 553 825

"Those Atsisi are really cute. They are really small. If a person sees them, they look like an owl. They have big eyes, but they are small, about the size of a pigeon, at the largest. Long ago, an Old Man said not to kill them. He said, 'If you call them they will listen to you and you will be able to pick them up and you can look at them.' And that's true—I know—when you see one you just call to it, *At-see-tsee, at-see-tsee,* and you go toward it, slowly. It will just look at you. *At-see-tsee, at-see-tsee;* you don't hurry it, you just go slowly. You go easy. *At-see-tsee.* You wear a glove to pick them up. That's why they're called *atsitsi* ["glove"].

"Oki, so that boy said, 'He looks like an atsitsi,' and they added *ninna* [man] to make it *Atsitsi-na.* My brother [the boy who gave him the name; cousins are called brothers among the Blackfeet], he was Little Buttocks. Later he became On-the-Edge-Piegan. He's been dead for a long time. I became well known as Atsitsina, and they are still calling me by that name." 551 553 [601]

SMOKING PIPES

Atsitsina usually sang our Bundle's songs whenever he visited us, but this time he was afraid his familiar voice could be easily heard around the early-morning camp. He asked that we postpone the songs and help him with a task. 533 778 576 123

"I came to ask, could you put a hole through this pipestem? I must make some pipes. Some of 276 575

BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE OPENING CEREMONY: 1972

NinnaOnesta—Albert Chief Calf—was the crier on the morning of the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe ceremony. He came around early, announcing that Jim Twig was going to open his Medicine Pipe. Not yet having fulfilled his annual obligation of having the Bundle opened, Jim Twig wanted to do this before starting the Bundle's transfer ceremony. All past and present Medicine Pipe Owners were invited, according to custom. 778 796 203

NinnaOnesta wore a black cowboy hat with a red-dyed eagle plume fastened to one side, and a pink scarf around his neck. He had on his ever-present sunglasses, and in one hand carried a cane. At the age of seventy-seven he was still a sturdy and strong-voiced man. Here is what we heard him say: "Hurry up! Hurry up, all of you people who want to see the Medicine Pipe Dance. [Jim Twig] is going to open his sacred Pipe today. He wants to get started early so that we can finish before dark. Oki, all of you Akai-Namskaniks [past Medicine Pipe Men], all of you Ninamskaniks, you are invited. Bring your bowls. All of you people who want to see the ceremony, you are invited to come to the yellow-painted Elk Tipi. Hurry Up!" [291] [416] [481]

We got up and made our incense. SikskiAki no longer took our Bundle outside to hang over the doorway during the day. The Old Man told us that there were too many casual visitors now in camp who had no idea how to show proper respect for such a sacred thing. As we made our incense, we prayed for our success with the Spirit of the Old Ways; we dwelled on good thoughts about our own life. 778 782 [123]

We were about to eat breakfast when Mrs. Stabs Down came in. Our Bundle had last been kept by her and her husband for the benefit of their children, who had been initiated as Owners. By tradition she is now our "Mother." She had 776 [601] [432] [422]

[p. 132-A]

Second, there is a more permanent situation which still cannot be included under adoption. It is distinguished from the latter by the Blood under the term *raising*. There is a good deal of confusion between the two, even conflicting information on individual cases as to whether such a one is a raising or an adoption. An examination of the details of the relationship does not always settle the question. However, broadly speaking, a raising is less permanent than an adoption. The responsibility for raising a child is most frequently assumed by close relatives, usually grandparents. The child goes to live with another family but does not sever connections with its own, nor does it assume the mother-father kinship terms for the couple who are raising him. Relatives will say to each other, "I will raise up a child for you and when he comes to school age you can take him back."

There are several cases of children being adopted and in later years returning to their own parents. One boy was adopted by his father's cousin (F M Si D) with whom he lived for about seven years. Then his father and his foster mother quarreled and he took the child back to live with him since he had married again and now had a home. A similar situation occurred when a foster father sent a child to the Catholic school and his Protestant father objected, using this as an excuse to remove the boy. He felt that he was not getting the proper care since the foster father was always drinking.

Are these to be considered adoptions or raisings? Apparently the arrangements were considered permanent when first established. At any rate it can readily be seen that adoptions and raisings cannot easily be separated. Situations that are presumably definite can suddenly change from one to the other. Therefore it appears that the ultimate criterion of whether it can really be called an adoption or a raising lies in the degree of permanence of the new relationship and the amount of contact between the child and the parents he is supposed to have left. But even this is not infallible.

Last of the three main categories are the adoptions, and these, too, can be divided into types. Blackfoot adoptions fall into four main overlapping divisions. First of all, and most numerous, are the adoptions which occur when a child presents a problem created by some disturbing situation in its home, the death of a parent, their separation, or an overcrowded household. At such a time someone who wants a

There will be visiting back and forth and exchange of presents and probably the use of parent-child kinship terms. However, if the child should ever need another home he will remember he has other parents who will welcome him gladly. 597 574 431 601

A similar relation can be set up between adults, with gifts and visits, often prolonged, and correct terminology. A man who lived at Brockett, on the Piegan Reserve, came down to visit on the Blood Reserve. His son had died some seven years before this. When he saw a young 20 year old boy he was struck with the resemblance to his dead son. He approached the boy, kissed him and said, "Be my son." The boy made no objection and he was given a horse. The two use father-son terms to each other and the man's other children call the boy brother and seem fond of him. The boy, however, goes only occasionally to visit in Brockett, although the man wants him to go and stay up there. 597 [431] [601] [574]

A similar situation is set up when a boy dies and his parents "adopt" a special friend who is his own age. Recently an 11 year old boy died and the father started calling the latter's close friend "son" and buying him clothes, etc. At the time the little boy died the father gave his friend a horse and saddle. But the "adopted" boy does not leave his own home except for brief visits. [601] [431] [574]

The desire to replace a dead son or daughter does not always involve resemblance, especially when small babies are concerned. In these cases children are requested, often from families in no way hard pressed. Of course such a request can be, and often is, refused but there is a feeling that this is an ungracious thing to do. [626]

These adoptions, if such they can be called, on the basis of resemblance or friendship, are casual and informal. A good deal of property may change hands. For obvious reasons the flow is mainly from the older man to the younger, but the latter's parents may try to do something in return for the gifts given their son or daughter. When a real adoption occurs there is no formal ceremony.

GENERAL ASPECTS OF BLOOD ADOPTION

Children are adopted at various ages, but most of them are below a year, many only a few weeks or months old. Many others are adopted at two or three years and a few over five, one even nine years of age. But babies, many of them still at the nursing stage, are most commonly adopted. Older children are usually not adopted, although

her. 597

Frequently friendly relations can be established, however. In any case it is unlikely that they were strangers before the adoption. There is constant visiting, and even if a young child does not know who his real parents are he is generally well acquainted with them. When children are in boarding school both real and foster parents often visit them, bringing little gifts of clothing and food. In many instances, however, the family that gave up the child is too poor to be able to do anything for it.

For the most part there is little interference from the real parents once the child has gone elsewhere, in spite of continued close association between the two families. In one case a Catholic girl was adopted by a couple who wished later on to send her to the Protestant school. They asked her real parents if this would be all right and their answer was that the other couple had adopted the child, were responsible for her, and they had nothing to say in the matter.

Real and continued interference was evidenced in the case already mentioned where the girl's own father tried to get some share of his daughter's horses from her adopted father. After the death of her first husband the interference continued to the extent of her own father insisting she marry her deceased sister's husband, a man with good crops and plenty of money.

TERMINOLOGY

If the child is adopted at any early age, before it is talking, it is to be expected it will call its foster parents by the mother-father terms. When adopted by grandparents they, too, will be given the parent terms, and their own father and mother will become brother and sister, or be called by the appropriate affinal terms. The child may also refer to them by name as if speaking of someone outside the family. It also gives rise to some strange usages in terminology. One girl adopted by her father's parents called her mother and father sister and brother, although she knew they were married. 597 601

Later on, when the real relationship is revealed, there may or may not be a change. Sometimes if relations with one's real parents are very close, even to the point of the son or daughter living with them for a period, then the mother-father terms would be applied to them also and usually retained for the foster parents as well. In one instance the mother's parents adopted a girl, and she called them mother and father until a

few years later when the girl's mother came to live with them. At this time the kinship terms were revised and the girl began calling her mother by the correct name and used the terms grandfather and grandmother for the others. 597 601

Learning that one is adopted does not always alter the kinship terminology, but it does call for new attitudes. Children learn of this at various ages. Some are adults before they find out. One man was sitting beside his adopted mother in the tipi listening to a tirade from his wife who, in her anger, shouted that the woman he was sitting beside was not his mother. The man got very angry at his wife, but was convinced of the truth of her remark. However, he was very fond of his foster mother and made no attempt to return to his own parents. But he was quite upset about it for a time. 597

For the most part, children learn of their adoption in school where someone is sure to tell them, usually with the idea of making mischief. When they take this information back to their foster parents it is frequently denied for a time, but the truth comes out eventually. In the few cases one can get an expression of opinion it seems that the children generally feel upset at the news. One girl cried a great deal and finally went back to her parents. Even when a child does decide to go back to its parents, this may be only in the nature of a prolonged visit.

PROPERTY EXCHANGE

It is repeatedly stated as one of the techniques of adoption procedure that property, usually in the form of horses, is given to the adopting parents along with the child. This is always phrased as a means of ensuring good treatment for the child. This feature always appears in general discussions on adoption. One informant, a little more sophisticated than the rest, saw the property transfer as lending dignity to the proceedings since people would not want a child of theirs to go as a pauper to his new home.

In fact, a transfer of horses is rare. In only ten of 50 cases was property involved, and of these six were somewhat indefinite. Of course there are many reasons why this could not be carried through, even if all the parties involved did consider it theoretically correct and desirable. When the child is taken because it is an orphan there is no property involved, nor in cases when neither the family nor the surviving parent have anything to give.

193 ámoiа natoápii omá ninau áiûsiua nitûyi noχkátanistoχkotsiu omí ûs *in the same way the man that had him for son-in-law also gave these holy things to his son-in-law* (*in the same way his son-in-law was given these holy things by that man ...*).

itauáχkumatàχkoyiu annóma matápi ponokâmitaiks *then he lent the horses to these people* (*then these people were lent the horses by him*).

amóistsi (istsinixksists) sotámaistamatsiuaie *then he taught* (*showed*) *him these* (*songs*) (*then he*, 4 p., *was shown these songs by him*, 3 p.).

itáuaistamàtsiuaiks apistsi (we should expect apiksi, apis being, as far as I know, of the animate gender) *he then showed them the ropes* (*then they were shown the ropes by him*).

ki omí otsínaimoauai osókàsimi otsitánnitsiautomòk (otsitânitsiautomòk) *and their chief tore his clothes to pieces for him.*

kepáyi atsíki ánnaie anistsaitsinomôkit *ten pair of moccasins, sew them for me.*

omá ninau omí otánni minipokàiinai omá manikâpiu ánnyaie áuaχkiskomoàu a *chief's daughter, a child of plenty, was driven home to that young man* (*it was that young man, for whom it was a chief's daughter, a child of plenty, that was driven to his home* would be an approximate translation of the sentence, omá manikâpiu being the real subject of it).

From some of the cited examples we see that the things given, or lent, or shown, or taught, etc. are treated in much the same way as in English. A construction as *he was given the pipe*, or *he was taught these songs*, is just as good English as Blackfoot.

§ 14. Allocution.

601 193 Some terms of relationship may be slightly modified, when used as vocatives. This is the case with ninna *my father* : voc. ninna, ninná, or ninnáh (the á is very short and, as it were, cut off by an aspiration); ní's(a) *my elder brother or sister* (a man or woman speaking) : voc. ní'sá or ní'sa; nisis(a) *my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking) : voc. nisisa; noχkóa *my son* : voc. noχkoii (noχkoié); nitánna *my daughter* : voc. nitánna, nitanni (nitanné); niskáni *my younger brother* (a man speaking) : voc. niskáni, niskani, or nísko; naáχs(a) *my grand-parent, my parent-in-law* : voc. naáχsa, naaχsi (naaχsé), or naáχsi. It seems, that the forms in -i (-é) are rather obsolete, and also nísko as vocative of niskáni is out of use nowadays.

There are also a few suppletive vocatives in the language. An obsolete allocution-form of this kind is noátoχs, which was used as a substitute of niskani, nísko, mentioned above as vocatives of niskáni *my younger brother*. Other suppletive vocatives are na'á : níksista *my mother*; napi : nitákàu *my partner*; kókoa : akékoàn *girl*; tsíki : saχkûmapi *boy*. Kókoa and tsíki have the value of *(my) little girl*, *(my) little boy*, and are used, when one is talking to children, or to grown-up boys or girls as terms of endearment. Even a married woman is spoken to by her mother or grandmother in this

601 193 fond way. Tsíki is not so often used to grown-up boys as kókoa to big girls or women, and even a boy of ten or twelve years would not like it, if he was called tsíki by a stranger. An interesting variation of na'á is na'áiau. Some deserted children in an old folk-tale, when finding their mother's whetstone, cry and say to their mother, that cannot hear them: na'áiau, amóiauk kisámakomi *mother-dear, here is your long round stone.* Grown-up people will address their mother with the unmodified word niksista.

It is to be noticed, that words with an independent form in -u a do not have this ending in the vocative, which is quite natural, since the independent form in -u a has the function of a third person, whereas the vocative is, of course, a second person. Nevertheless, words with an independent form in -a sometimes retain this ending in the vocative. So I remember to have heard a vocative O'maχksistamíkà *Big-bull* instead of the shorter form O'maχksistamik. Cf. about the independent forms of animate nouns § 15. A

The emphatic vocatives with the suffix -a k i will be treated in § 16. B

A, B, [See Category 193, pp. 29-36, 36-37 respectively--Analyst]

193 *young man, that took the gun, was just led round about through the crowd by an old man* : nápi *old man.*

kínnaie otoχkúksinok, einíi otáiksisàtaχs *in that way he was found out by him, that he was hiding the buffalo* : eini *buffalo.*

eini itámsokitspiàupiiau *then they suddenly sat among the buffalo* : eini *buffalo.*

amói matápi otáχkánanik *these people all said to him (he was told by all these people)* : matápi *people.*

ki itsínniu omi misoχpskii *and then he caught the musk-rat* : misoχpski *musk-rat.*

manistsapsi, itsinim omi saχkúmapii óχsokuists *when she looked, she saw the boy's tracks* : saχkúmapi *boy.*

itsikómosatsiu omi otátuyi *he then stole that black-fox* : otátuyi *fox, red-fox* (used here for sikotátuyi *black-fox*).

áinoyiua Soyiksii *he saw Curly-dog* : Soyiksi *Curly-dog.*

omá ninau itótsim omik istsii *that man took there a fire-stick* : istsi *fire* (inanimate).

O'tskúskiua óχpsii ixtsitsiksiskaχkoyiu *Blue-face then touched her with his arrow* : ápssi *arrow* (inanimate).

" otsikóáninai maiái *his robe was a yellow calf (it was a yellow calf that was his robe)* : maiái *robe.*

omá akéua otánik itoi *that woman was told by the leader-buffalo* : ito *leader-buffalo.*

otsitanik omi sikixtsisóii *he then was told by the moose* : sikixtsisó *moose.*

omá ponokáistomik ánistsiu maistói *that elk-bull said to the crow* : maistó *crow.*

kínniaie Nápiua itsitapiokau, omi natáioi itsitótòyin omíksim ómaχko-kataiks *and then the Old Man slept soundly* (literally: *really*), *a bob-cat came there to those gophers* : natáio *bob-cat.*

itsinóyiu omi kyáioii *he then saw there a bear* : kyáio *bear.*

stapót ómi nitúmmoi *go to that hill over there* : nitúmmo *hill* (inanimate).

omi suiéstamíki ánistsiu *she said to that water-bull* : suiéstamik *water-bull.*

omi ski'mi stámotomitàpoχpaipiu *then he first jumped to that female (a she-bear)* : ski'm *female.*

omi katoyisi stámsapixtsiu *he then put that blood-clot in* : katoyis *blood-clot.*

ki omi mistsisi omá manikápiu ánniaie itótsisksipistsiu opokáχkatsimàn *and that young man had tied his quill-ornament to that stick* : mistsis *stick* (inanimate).

193 We have still to mention an irregularity in the obviative-formation of the relationship-terms in *-a*. In the possessive forms of the singular — I mean
601 the singular of the person possessed — that vowel is substituted by *-i* or modified to *-ai*, whenever these forms stand for the fourth person. This is, of course, always the case, when the possessive prefix is of the third person, but when a possessive prefix of the first or second person is attached to

193 the word, then it depends on the context, whether it is to be put in the
●601 obviative or not. The modification of *-a* to *-ai* is confined to the forms with pluralized possessor of the second and third persons; the other obviatives in question have the simple ending *-i*. In the plural of the person possessed there are no special obviative-forms. Take, for instance, the word "father": ninna *my father*, kinna *your father*, ninnàna *our* (excl.) *father*, kinnûna *our* (incl.) *father* have the obviatives ninni, kinni, ninnâni, kinnûni, whereas ûnni *his father* is an obviative in itself. Kinnoâua *your* (plur.) *father* has the obviative kinnoâuai, having the ending *-ai* in common with ûnnoauai *their father*, which is an obviative, whatever its syntactical relations in the sentence may be. In the same way is the obviative-formation of the other terms of relationship in question: cf. niksista : obv. niksistsi *my mother* : oksistsi *his mother* (*ts* assibilated from *t* before *i*); noχkóa : obv. noχkói(i) *my son* : oχkói(i) *his son*; ni'sa : obv. ni'si *my elder brother* : û'si *his elder brother*; ninista : obv. ninistsi *my elder sister* : ûnistsi *his elder sister* (*ts* as in niksistsi, oksistsi); nisisa : obv. nisisi *my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking) : oχsisi *her younger brother or sister*; naâχsa : obv. naâχsi *my grand-parent, my parent-in-law* : máaχsi *his grand-parent, his parent-in-law*; nóma : obv. nómi *my husband* : ómi *her husband*; nîsa : obv. nîsi *my son-in-law* : ûsi *his son-in-law*; nimsa : obv. nimsi *my daughter-in-law* : ómsi *his daughter-in-law*; nistamóa : obv. nistamói(i) *my brother-in-law* : ostamói(i) *his brother-in-law*, etc. It is not necessary to give all the other forms, for the reader can make them himself without any difficulty. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to show, how such obviatives of relationship-terms with possessive prefixes of the first and second persons are used in the sentence:

ânistsiu niksistsi *he told my mother* (but kitânistau niksista *you told my mother*).

sotámitoχkotsiu ninni iitan *then he gave my father a saddle* (but nisotámitoχkotau ninna iitan *then I gave my father a saddle*).

itsinóyiu kinnoâuai *then he saw your* (plur.) *father* (but nitsitsinoâu kinnoâua *then I saw your*, plur., *father*).

About the predicative obviatives in -inai (-in) see § 19[A] (cf. § 101[B]).

193 Whereas the third and the fourth persons are distinguished from each other by special noun-forms only in the singular, the fifth person or so-called subobviative is characterized in the plural as well as in the singular by the suffix -ai(i) (-ai e). In the singular the sign of the subobviative is not attached to the noun-stem, but to the obviative. In the plural it is attached to the plural-form of the noun.

I shall give first some examples of the subobviative in the singular:

omi ómiai omik noχkoχtâumaχkâiin, ákainin otoχkémaan *her husband was running over to her, his wife was already dead* (ómi *her husband* is substituted here by the subobviative ómiai, because a man in the preceding sentence is considered as the chief third person, and the woman as the fourth person, so that her husband stands for the fifth person).

A, B, [See Category 193, pp. 43-46, 187-188 respectively--Analyst]

A.

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a- *in the act of*; *usually*; *repeatedly*; monophthongization of **ai-**.

ak- (**akai-**, **akau-**), **-k-** (**-kai-**, **-kau-**) *already*: **ânni ákaitaupit** *be already seated there for a moment*; **akâχtuitsiu omi piskâni** *the corral is full already*; **ákaitaiksistsauyiau** *they had already done eating*; **ákainim** *he had seen it already*; **ákatoχkoχkemînai** *he* (4 p.) *has got another wife already*; **ákauksikinakîminai** *she* (4 p.) *had already turned into bones*; **omiksi okósiks ákauomaχksîmiau** *those children of his had already got big*; **nikâinitânan** *we* (excl.) *have killed her already*; **okâipistsimôk** *she was already suspected by him* (4 p.); **kikâiaksisai** *you are left-handed now* (*already*); **nikâuaitskâsi** *I have done fighting* (*I have fought already*), **nikâuto** *I have come already*; **kikâtoχkoχkemi** *you have got another wife*. Initial **k-** (**kai-**, **kau-**) is rare: **kaiiksipixtsiau** *they went already very far off*. — In some cases **ak-** is used for *old*, e.g. **ákauyis** *old lodge*; **ákômaχkâmita** *old horse*. — Cf. **akai-** *former, ancient*, **ákauχta**, and **tk-** *already*.

ak- *round* v. **ak-** *round*.

akai- *former, ancient*: **ákaitaplua**, **ákai-Pekâniua** *the ancient people, the ancient Peigan tribe*; **ákaiômi** *her former husband*. — Cf. **ak-** (**akai-**, **akau-**). [601]

akaiapi- (**-kaiapi**) *to be old already* (used of men and animals, not of women): **nikâiâpi** *I am old already*, **ákaiâpiu** *he is old already*.

-akaii- *to have a partner*: **itoχkákaiiu** *he then had a partner*.

ákaînau (**-inaua**) an. *patriarch*, obv. **-inai(i)**, pl. **-inaiks** (lit. *man or chief of ancient times*).

ákaiinin *he is dead*.

A'kaina an. *Old-chief* (lit. *former chief, ancient chief*), a man's name, obv. **-nai(i)**. [551]

ákaiksisâpitsâpiu *he is a quick* (*active*) *old man*.

ákaiômi an. *her former husband*.

ákaipiksâni in. *old corralling-place*.

ákaiponitaaikaipiop in. *the old station*.

ákaisauoχsoχkim piksiks otsitsipoχkspi (*the people*) *were already near* (*the places*) *where the fowl changed their feathers*.

ákaisiksisiu *it is broken* (*by accident?*) (e.g. **nitoχkâksâkin** *my axe*).

ákaisiu *is old*, used of all kinds of animate and inanimate things, but not of animals.

ákaisoatsistsisaapâyi *they gave orders already not to go about*.

ákaitapi (**ákaitaplua**) an. *the ancient people*. — Cf. **-ikaitapi-**.

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Isókskitsinau (-inaua) an. *Ashes-chief*, a boy in an ancient story, obv. Isókskitsinai(i). [192]

isokuiáuotàni in. *heavy shield*, pl. isokuiáuotànists. [551]

I'sokuiomaχkàni an. *Heavy-runner*, a man's name.

-isoχkatsis in. *foreleg*, pl. -isoχkatsists; otsisoχkatsists *his (its) forelegs*. [601]

isoχkéman an. *youngest wife*, pl. isoχkémaiks; nitsisoχkèman *my youngest wife*, otsisoχkèman *his youngest wife*.

-isoχkinauat- *to wear in front as a top-knot*: otokâni ixkanáiisoχkinauatôm *he had all his hair tied in front as a top-knot*.

isoχkitoχtsi (-tsik, -tsim) *on the edge of a hill*.

isoχpekists in. pl. *foreteeth*.

-isoχpski- v. misoχpski-.

-isoχpskyekiàki- *to trap a musk-rat (musk-rats)*: nitsisoχpskyekiàki *I trap a musk-rat*.

isóχtsi (-tsik, -tsim) *ahead, in front, in the future*.

isomaχka- *to run ahead*: nitâiisomaχk *I run ahead*, áiisomaχkau *he runs ahead*.

isoóχtsi (-tsik, -tsim) *near the edge of the water or the fire* (also used for *ashore*): potâni isoóχtsim *right near the fire*. — isoóχtsi in. *shore*, pl. isoóχtsists.

isopatska- *to take for a seat*: ânniaie isópàtskàiau *those they took for a seat*.

isopaamaat- *to cross ahead of*: nitsisopaamàatau *I cross ahead of him*, isopaamâatsiu *he crosses ahead of him*, isopaamâakit *cross ahead of me*.

-isot- *to take ahead, to touch, to feel by touching*: nitâisôtoau *I take him ahead*, áisôtoyiu *he takes him ahead*; nitâisôtsixp *I take it ahead*, áisôtsim *he takes it ahead*; ânnom okékini aisôtsimaie *he felt that one's breast* (i.e. *the breast of that goose*).

-isotâpsimiks v. onóχksisotàpsimiks.

I'soyiks an. pl. *Tails*, the fifth age-society of the Peigans.

isoyíu *he has a tail*.

ispâχkitsékaχpi in. (?) *instep*.

Ispíksisi an. *Thick-ass*, a man's name. [551]

ispixtsi- v. spixtsi-.

-ispumo- (-ispummo-) *to go to heaven* v. -spumo-.

ist- *in, into*: natsíkists ámoistsiàuki, istsistakàkitau *here are my moccasins, stick your feet in them*; itsistàpíksiu *he then ran into (a hole)*. — Cf. ist- *in the forest*.

ist- (ists-) *in the forest, into the forest*: annóχk ámo akétui ánnamaie itsistsâupiu *now in this bunch of timber he is sitting*; amâitsoàskuists itsitástsokaiau (itsitâistsokaiau) *they will sleep in thick forests*; ɔɔsóm atsiuáskui aitâχkánaistokèkàm (misheard for -okèkàu ?) *all of them were camping in the forest here*; istsippíksiu *he fled into the forest (the brushes)*; itsistsàpíksiau *they then fled into the forest (the brushes)*. — Cf. ist- *in*, -istso-.

192 nisótamatsitokekaχpinan *and then we* (excl.) *camped again way up near the old station.*

kitsítsimi (kitsitsimiua) an. *grouse*, obv. kitsitsimi(i), pl. kitsitsimiks.

kitúmmaiixkètso amói nisámai *I think this my war-bonnet becomes you well.*

[601] **ko-** *your* (sing.): koχkóa *your son*; kókos *your child*; kótàs *your beast*; kokóa *your home*; kotsámmokân *your hat.* — *your* (pl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: koχkóàua *your* (pl.) *son*; kókósoàua *your* (pl.) *child*; kótàsoàua *your* (pl.) *beast*: kokóaua (kokóaːuàua) *your* (pl.) *home.* — *our* (incl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: koχkúnùna *our* (incl.) *son*; kókósinuna *our* (incl.) *child*; kótàsinuna *our* (incl.) *beast*; kokúnùna *our* (incl.) *home.* — In good Blackfoot ko- is not used in the verb. — Cf. k-, ki-, kit- *you.*

ko- *to give* v. kot- *to give.*

-ko *snow*: iiksimiko *the snow was very deep*; imíkoaie *the snow was deep*; otsitomaimíkoχpi *where the snow was very deep.* — Cf. kóni.

-ko (-kui, -kuyi) is the ending of many words designating *earth*, the surface, or parts of it, as well as the substance, or a certain amount of it. Examples: ksáχkó (ksáχkúyi) *earth* (the substance); áksíksaχko *bluff*; -ixkimmiko *earth* (the substance); potótsko *trail, road*; moχsokó *track, trail*; atsóàsko *forest*; kauaχkó *coulee.* All such words are inanimate.

-ko- *to get skins for robes* v. -ixko-.

-koân is an individualizing suffix that, in itself, has nothing to do with sex, as appears from akékoân *girl*, properly *a female individual.* But most nouns in -koân are derived from names of tribes, bands, etc., and denote male individuals belonging to such: Káinaíkoân *Blood Indian*; Síksíkaíkoân *Blackfoot Indian*; Ináksíkoân *Small-robe-man*; noχkétsitapíkoân *foreigner*; ómaχksistseksinaíkoân *rattle-snake-man.* To this group belongs also Nápikoân *white man*, and the same suffix is found in the homonym Nápíkoân *Old Man* (= *the Sun*). The suffix -koân is sometimes used to denote young animals, e.g. síkimíkoân *black colt*; spíkoân *white colt*; otsíkóân *yellow buffalo-calf*; imitáíkoân *puppy.* — Cf. -ake.

-koâni- *to play* (*at a game*): nitáíkoâni *I play*, áíkoâniu *he plays*; nitáíkoânimau *I play with him*, áíkoânimiu *he plays with him* (also used of men and women in an erotic sense).

-koânistot- *to tickle*: nitáíkoanistotoau *I tickle him*, áíkoanistotoyiu *he tickles him.*

koâpi in. *useful thing*: nitókskau koâpi otsitapisoaii onámauaists ki óχpsoaists *one useful thing of theirs were their bows and their arrows.*

koin- *to find* v. kon- *to find.*

koki in. *corner*, pl. kokiists.

-kokixkini- v. okókixkinixpiai.

-kokitsi- *to be frozen*: nátsakoíkokitsiminai *he* (4 p.) *was just frozen with spittle on his mouth*; nátámiskikokitsiminai *he* (4 p.) *was just frozen*

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matauχkoyi- *to have nothing to eat*: **nimâtauχkòyi** *I have nothing to eat*, **mâtauχkòyiu** *he has nothing to eat*.

matâskak- *to refuse* (*not to consent*) v. **-askak-**.

mâtaskaksayinaie (*the smoke*) *would not clear up*.

matoim- (**-otoim-**, **autoim-**) *to blame*: **nitâutoimau** *I blame him*, **âutoimiu** *he blames him*, **matôimokit** *blame me*; **âutoimiauaiks** *they blamed them* (an.).

matoiópaists (**-otoiòpaists**) in. pl. *rye-grass*.

matoiópaskò (**-skûi**, **-skûyi**) in. *patch of rye-grass*, pl. **matoiópaskuists**.

Mâtokeks an. pl. *Women-society*.

Mâtokeks-ománistàmoai-otsítskitaχpiau *Where-the-Women-society-left-their-lodge-pole*, a local name. [103]

matókskam an., **matókskau** in. *other one*.

-mátoχkèman an. *second* (*other*) *wife*, **nimátoχkèman** *my second wife*, **omátoχkèman** *his second wife*. [601]

matóχketsi (**matóχkitsi**), **matóχketsim** (**matóχkitsim**) *different*.

matóχkitsi v. **matóχketsi**.

matoχkotsinatsiks *it can never be*.

mâtoχkûiikin *he is not injured*.

mâtoχkuiixkanaylu *he did not belong to a band*. — Cf. **nitsixkauaû**.

mâtoχkuiniu *he can not be killed*.

mâtoχpaiaksikinopàiuatsiks **ókósiks** (*the buffalo*) *would not set warm their calves*.

mâtoχtaiopimiskàupiau v. **miópis**.

matom- (**-atom-**) first: **matomotapôtsists** (**otatômapôtsists**) *the pieces of meat he had first brought in*; **matômautstuyiu** *it was in the beginning of the winter* (prop. *winter had first come*); **matômsotsikat** *you must slide first*; **matômistsitsaukíka** *bury* (pl.) *me first*; **kámaχtatàumomatapauop** *I have a mind to begin with you first* (prop. *let us eventually start with it first*); **âistamatômipiksiu** *then he will strike first*. — Cf. **matomo-**, **matómoχt**, and also **autom-**, **itom-**, **itomo-**.

matom- *not yet* v. **matomai-**.

matomai- (**matom-**) *not yet*: **mâtomaipixtsiuaiks** (thus to be read instead of **mâtomapixtsiuaiks** *they had not gone far yet*; **mâtomautôatsiks** *he has not yet come*; **mâtomaisamôats** *it was not yet a long while*; **nimâtomaiksinipa auaχkâutsisists** *I do not know yet about wars*. This compounded prefix is used only in the indicative, in contradistinction to **sauumai-** whose domain is the conjunctive (and subjunctive). — Cf. **imai-**.

mâtomaniuats *he speaks untruth, he is wrong*. — Cf. **emani-**.

matómipokàu (**-pokàua**) an. *first-born child*, obv. **-pokài(i)**, pl. **-pokâiks**.

matomo- (**matomaat-**) *to go first*: **matómo** *he goes first, he goes before*; **matómaakit** *go before me*, **matómaatsis** *go before him*. — Cf. **matom-**, *first*, **matómoχt**, and also **autom-**, **itom-**, **itomo-**.

matómoχt, **matômoχtsi** (**-tsik**, **-tsim**) *first, formerly*.

mâtsâke (**mâtsâkeua**) an. *whore*, obv. **mâtsâke(i)**, pl. **mâtsâkeks**.

N.

192 **n-** *I (me)*: **nâksipisi** *that I shall enter*; **nâχkipitapaiakàni** *that I may just confess*; **nâχkotomoàipíksistaχs** *that I should gather them* (an.) *up*; **ki ânnyaie nanistsksinoau** *and that is what I know about (the people of the olden times)*. — *we (us)* (excl.), in combination with certain suffixes: **nanistótaspinan** *as we* (excl.) *owned horses separately*; **nâksipisinàn** *that we* (excl.) *shall enter*. — *my*: **naâuyi** *my mouth*; **natâini** *my tongue*; **naiâiua** *my robe*; **nôma** *my husband*. — *our* (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: **naâχsinàna** *our* (excl.) *grand-parent* (also: *parent-in-law*); **nóminàna** *our* (excl.) *husband*. — The distribution of **n-**, **ni-**, **nit-** (**nits-**), **no-** belongs to grammar. Cf. **ni-**, **nit-** *I*, **no-**.

n- *now* v. **an-** *now*.

na'â (**na'âiau**) v. **niksista**.

[601] **naâχsi** (**naâχsa**) an. *my grand-parent, my parent-in-law*, voc. **naâχsa**, **naaχsi**, **naaχsé**, **naâχsi**, obv. **naâχsi**, pl. **naâχsiks** (?); **maâχsi** *his (her) grand-parent* or *parent-in-law*, pl. **maâχsiks**.

naâχsinàna (excl.) *our government* v. **kaâχsinûna**.

nai- (**-ai-**), **nau-** (**-au-**) *six*: **nâitapiau** *there are six persons*; **nitâuànistsi** *I did it six times*. — Cf. **nâu**.

nâil v. **nâu**.

nâiippo *sixty* (simple form); **nâiippi** an., **nâiippoyi** in.; **nâiippiau** an., **nâiippoiau** in. *they are sixty*; **nâiippetapiau** *there are sixty persons*.

nâiippoixtsau an., **nâiippoχtoχp** in. *it costs sixty dollars*.

nâiippoisopoksixtsau an., **nâiippoisopoksòχtoχp** in. *it costs sixty dollars*.

nâiipponiu *it is sixty days (nights)*.

naiist- v. **nist-** *two*.

naiistoχtapinàmaχka an. *takes-gun-on-both-sides*, jocular designation of *anus*.

naiistotopat- *to sit on both sides of, to sit on each side of* v. sub **nist-** *two*.

[551] **Náiistotsinni** (**-niua**) an. *Holds-on-both-sides*, a woman's name, obv. **-ni(i)** (Blood Indian).

Naiistotstsò an. *Charges-from-two-sides*, a man's name, obv. **-tsòi**.

nâikepippo *six hundred* (simple form); **nâikepippi** an., **nâikepippoyi** in.

nâikoputo *sixteen* (simple form); **nâikoputsi** an., **nâikoputoyi** in.; **nâikoputsiau** an., **nâikoputoiau** in. *they are sixteen*.

nâixtsau an., **nâuχtoχp** in. *it costs six dollars*.

naimaka- *to be medicine-pipe-owner*: **kanâinaimskàni** *because they were all medicine-pipe-owners*.

nâimskaiposkan in. *medicine-pipe dance*.

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192 **Niétaχtaitapi** (-tapiua) an. *Pend d'Oreille tribe* (lit. *River people*). — Cf. *-itaχtaitapi-*.

Niétaχtaitàpiàke (-àkeua) an. *Pend d'Oreille woman*, pl. Niétaχtaitapiàkeks.

[551] **Niétaχtaitapiàke** (-àkeua) an. *River-people-woman*, a certain Cree Indian woman's Peigan name, obv. *-ake(i)*.

Niétaχtaitapikoàn an. *Pend d'Oreille Indian*, pl. Niétaχtaitapikoaíks.

niétaχtàko (-kuyi) in. itámsokoχtsimìu **niétaχtàkuyi** *then he suddenly heard a roaring noise.*

niétaχtàmiskàni in. *ditch*, pl. **niétaχtàmiskànists.**

niétaχtau v. niétaχtai.

nietsinániau: ki ánni nietsinániau *and those were the things they had.*

niippo *thirty* (simple form); niippi an., niippoyi in.; niippiau an., niippoiau in. *they are thirty*; niippetapiau *there are thirty persons.*

niippoixtsau an., niippoχtoχp in. *it costs thirty dollars.*

niippoisopoksixtsau an., niippoisopoksòχtoχp in. *it costs thirty dollars.*

niitaχtai v. niétaχtai.

nikóputo *thirteen* (simple form); nikóputsi an., nikóputoyi in.; nikóputsiau an., nikóputoiau in. *they are thirteen.*

● [601] **niksista** an. *my mother*, voc. also na'á, na'áiau, obv. niksístsi, pl. niksistaiks; oksístsi *his (her) mother*, pl. oksístsiks.

niksòkoa an. *my relation*, obv. niksòkoai (?), pl. niksòkoaiks; óksòkoi, óksòkoai *his (her) relation*, pl. óksòkoiks. — Cf. *-oko- relation.*

nim- (-im-) *westward, west*: itsímsapiu *he looked west.* — Cf. nimists.

nimátsitàuanatàuaiksàua *I then never wear them* (an.) (speaking of leggings).

nimiápists in. pl. *dirt, trash.*

nimists (nimistsk) *westward, west, on the westside.* — Cf. nim-.

Nimistsitaupi (-aupiua) an. *the One-that-sets-in-the-west*, i.e. the Sun (v. Natósi), obv. -aupi(i).

nimoχtotsinaχpinanists in. pl. *our* (excl.) *ration-tickets* (*where-we-draw-our-rations-with*). Cf. the inclusive form ixtátsinaupi.

nimoχtotsòk in áχké nimoχtotsòk *he threw water on me* (lit. *he threw on me with water*).

[601] **ni'msa** (nimsa) an. *my daughter-in-law*, obv. ni'msi (nimsi), pl. ni'msaiks (nimsaiks); ó'msi (ómsi) *his (her) daughter-in-law*, pl. ó'msiks (ómsiks).

nin- (-in-), nan- *to see*: nitáinoau, nitsinoáu *I see him*, nánoyiu, áinoyiu, -inoyiu *he sees him*, ninókit *see me*, ninós *see him*; matápiks ninoásaiks *when he saw persons*; nitáinixp, nitsinixp *I see it*, áinim, *-inim he sees it*, ninit *see it.* — Cf. *-inotsi- to see each other.*

nin-, a variant of min- (v. pin-, a prohibitive prefix).

ninaists- (-inaists-) *to make chief*: nitsinaistsau *I make him chief.*

ninaisini in. *chiefship.*

[551] **Ninaikèsum** an. *Chief-sun*, a man's name (Blood Indian).

ninaixkàsi- (-inaixkàsi-) *to act as chief*: nitsinaixkàsi *I act as chief.*

192 **ninixkiátsis** in. *musical instrument, violin*, pl. ninixkiátsists.

ninixkiayi- (-inixkiayi-) *to sing while running*: áinixkiayiau *they sang while they were running.*

ninixkoχtoχsi- (inixkoχtoχsi-) *to sing to oneself*: nitáinixkoχtoχsi *I sing to myself*, áinixkoχtoχsiu, inixkoχtoχsiu *he sings to himself.*

nínixksini in. *song*, pl. ninixksists; nitsinixksini *my song*; nátokyoχkitsíkai noχksksinimatsokík ninixksi *teach* (pl.) *me twice seven songs*; ki ánni manistsippotoχkokàie ninixksi *and in that way he* (4 p.) *paid him back in songs.* Nowadays ninixksini (ninixkisini) is also used for *music* in general.

[601] **ninista** (ninsta) an. *my elder sister* (a man or a woman speaking), obv. ninistsi (ninstsi), pl. ninistaiks (ninstaiks); únistsi (únstsi) *his* (*her*) *elder sister*, pl. únistsiks, únstsiks.

ninna an. *my father*, voc. ninna, ninná, ninnáh, obv. ninni, pl. ninnaiks; únni *his* (*her*) *father*, pl. únniks.

ninnàna (excl.) *the agent of our reservation* v. kinnùna.

ninóχkoχkoχkémaiks v. nitoχkéman.

[551] **Ninoχkyàio** (-kyàioa) an. *Bear-chief*, a man's name, obv. -kyàioi.

ninsta v. ninista.

nip- (-ip-), nipu- (-ipu-), nipui- (-ipui-) *standing, upright, erect, vertical, up*: nipáupit *sit up*; nipóχpaipiit *jump up*; itsipóχpaipiu *then he jumped up*; nitsipáipuyi *I am standing up*; nitsipáisinaki *I write while standing*; otsipóχkyàks *when he held his head up*; itsipáitapiksim *then he threw it up*; áitsipàipuyiu *he was standing up alone*; nimátsitsipusamaiau *I then looked up at them* (an.) *again*; itsipúsapiu *then he looked up*; itámsokitsipuistàpíksiau *then they suddenly jumped up and away.* — Cf. nap- *standing*, nipuau-, nipuyi-.

nipaíksikyoχkiaki- (-ipaíksikyoχkiaki-) *to stick up one's head* v. nitsipaíksikyoχkiaknai.

nipaipuyi- (-ipaipuyi-) *to stand* v. nipuyi-.

nipaipuyi- (-ipaipuyi-) *standing*: nitsipáipuyèpuyi *I talk while standing.* — Cf. nipuyi-.

nipaitapi- (-ipaitapi-) *to be alive, to exist*: kitáksisamipàitapisi *as long as you will exist.*

nipaitapíksi- (-ipaitapiksi-) *to throw up*: omí mistsisi itsipáitapíksim *he then threw the stick up.*

nipapíksi- (-ipapíksi-) *to jump up from a sitting or lying position*: nitsipápíksi *I jump up*, -ipápíksiu *he jumps up.*

nipauako- (-ipauako-) *to get up and run after*: itsipáuakoyiuaie *then he got up and ran after him.*

nipaupi- (-ipaupi-) *to sit up*: nipáupit *sit up*; námipaupiinai *she* (4 p.) *only sat up*; itámisauksipaupinai *then he* (4 p.) *suddenly sat up*; máumaisamipópiiks *they are sitting up very late.*

nipoχkiaki- (-ipoχkiaki-) *to hold up the head*: pinipóχkiàkik *do* (pl.) *not hold your heads up*; otsipóχkyàks *when he held his head up*; itáχ-

192 **nipusam-** (-ipusam-) *to look up at* (an.): nimátsitsipusamaiau *I then looked up at them* (an.) *again.*

nipusapi- (-ipusapi-) *to look up*: itsipúsapiu (itsipúsapiu) *then he looked up.* — *to sit up and look*: pâχtsíkisamipusapiixk *he sat up and looked for a while.*

nipuskapat- (-ipuskapat-) *to pull up from a sitting or lying position*: itáksipuskapatsiuaie *then she started to pull him up.*

nipústautaksin v. nepústautaksin.

nipustokiaki- (-ipustokiaki-) *to raise the ears*: nitâipustokiaki *I raise the ears,* âipustokiakiu *he raises the ears.*

nipuyi- (-ipuyi-) *to stand*: nitâipuyipuyi, nitsipâipuyi *I stand,* âipuyipuyiu *he stands* (in such forms the idea of *standing* is expressed twice); nitsitâipuyi *I stand there,* itâipuyiu *he stands there*; sotamótêpuyiu *then* (*all the horses*) *stood about.* — Cf. nip- *standing,* nipaipuyi- *standing.*

nipuyimiki- (-ipuyimiki-) *to push the grass up*: âksipuyimikiòχsataiau (-âχsataiau) *we* (incl.) *shall push the grass up*; omi mánistami ixtsitâipuimikiàkiua *he then pushed the grass up with the lodge-pole.*

nipuyin- (-ipuyin-) *to raise up*: nitsipúyinau *I raise him up,* nipúyiniu, âipûyiniu *he raises him up*; nitsipúyinixp *I raise it up,* nipúyinim, âipûyinim *he raises it up.*

●[601] **nís** (nisa) an. *my son-in-law,* voc. nísa, obv. nísi, pl. nísaiks; ûsi *his* (*her*) *son-in-law,* pl. ûsiks.

nis- (-is-), niso- (-iso-) *four*: nisóitaplau *there are four persons*; nisóianàsiu *it costs four* (*robes*); ixpisóstuyimiaunie *they were four years with* (*it*) (*that means*: *they were four years members of that age-society*); mátoχpisostuyimiau *they were four years again with* (*it*); aiisisoaχpi *the four* (*things*) *he was fed with*; nitsisoyisoau *he was fed with four* (*things*); nitsisánistsi *I did it four times.* — Cf. nisoó.

[601] **ní'sa** (nisa) an. *my elder brother* (a man or a woman speaking), voc. ní'sa, ní'sá, obv. ní'si, pl. ní'siks; û'si (úsi), ó'si (ósi) *his* (*her*) *elder brother,* pl. û'siks, ó'siks. Also used for *uncle.* — *my elder sister* (a woman speaking): sá, ní'sá, amóiaie kitoχtónum *no, my elder sister, here is some I saved for you.*

[551] **Nisámoiaka** an. *Long-time-sleeping,* a man's name, obv. -kai(i).

Nisámoχkotoki an. *Old-rock,* a man's name.

Nisámunistaχs an. *Long-time-calf,* a man's name.

nisêa *one* (simple form), cf. nitókska. The initial syllable ni- is often omitted.

nisékoputo *fourteen* (simple form): nisékoputsi an., nisékoputoyi in.; nisékoputsiau an., nisékoputoiau in. *they are fourteen.*

nisíppo *forty* (simple form): nisíppi an., nisíppoyi in.; nisíppiau an., nisíppoiau in. *they are forty*; nisíppetaplau *there are forty persons.*

nisíppoixtsau an., nisíppoχtoχp in. *it costs forty dollars.*

nisíppoisopoksixtsau an., nisíppoisopoksòχtoχp in. *it costs forty dollars.*

[601] **nisís** (nisisa) an. *my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking), obv.

nisisi, pl. **nisisíks**: *oxsisi her younger brother or sister*, pl. *oxsisíks*. Also used for *a woman's nephew or niece*. 192

nisit- (**-isit-**), **nisits-** (**-isits-**), **nisito-** (**-isito-**) *five*: **nisitsitapiau** *there are five persons*; **nisitóianàsiu** *it costs five* (*robes*); **áisitokstakiu** *it counts five*; **nitsisitánistsi** *I did it five times*. — Cf. **nisitó**. [601]

nisitánauksi an. *nickel*, pl. **nisitánauksíks** (*five-halves*).

nisitó (**nisito**) *five* (simple form): **nisitsi** an., **nisitóyi** in.: **nisitsiau** an., **nisitóiau** in. *they are five*. — Cf. **nisit-**.

Nisito (**Nisitoa**) an. *Isidore*, obv. **Nisitoi** (reinterpreted as *Five*). [551]

nisito- v. **nisit-**.

nisitóianàsiu *it costs five* (*robes*).

nisitóixtsau an., **nisitóχtoχp** in. *it costs five dollars*.

nisitóisopoksixtsau an., **nisitóisopoksòχtoχp** in. *it costs five dollars*.

nisitókepippo *five hundred* (simple form): **nisitókepippi** an., **nisitókepippóyi** in.

nisitóyi *five times*. — v. also **nisitó**.

nisitsékoputo *fifteen* (simple form): **nisitsékoputsi** an., **nisitsékoputoyi** in.; **nisitsékoputsiau** an., **nisitsékoputoiau** in. *they are fifteen*.

nisitsíppo *fifty* (simple form): **nisitsippi** an., **nisitsippoyi** in.; **nisitsippiau** an., **nisitsippoiau** in. *they are fifty*; **nisitsippetapiau** *there are fifty persons*.

nisitsíppoixtsau an., **nisitsippoχtoχp** in. *it costs fifty dollars*.

nisitsippoisopoksixtsau an., **nisitsippoisopoksòχtoχp** in. *it costs fifty dollars*.

niskáni (**niskána**) an. *my younger brother* (*a man speaking*). voc. **niskáni**, **niskani**, **nisko**, **noátoχs**, obv. **niskáni**, pl. **niskáiks**; **uskáni** *his younger brother*, pl. **uskáiks**. Also used for *a man's nephew*. [601]

nisko v. **niskáni**.

nisó v. **nisoó**.

niso- v. **nis-**.

nisoái v. **nisóyi**.

nisóianàsiu *it costs four* (*robes*).

nisóixtsau an., **nisóχtoχp** in. *it costs four dollars*.

nisóisopoksixtsau an., **nisóisopoksoχtoχp** in. *it costs four dollars*.

nisókèpippo *four hundred* (simple form): **nisókèpippi** an., **nisókèpippoyi** in.

nisókitsimiskiau *I made his nose bleed*. — Cf. **ixtáumaitsìmiskiòpi**.

nisòkòs an. *my son-in-law's child*, pl. **nisokosíks**. [601]

nisoχkòi an. *my son-in-law's son*, pl. **nisoχkòiks**.

-nisoχkòiai v. **únisoχkòiai**.

Nisóχkyaio (**-kyaioa**) an. *Four-bears*, a man's name, obv. **-kyaioi**. [551]

nisoó (**nisó**, **niso**) *four* (simple form): **nisoyimi** an., **nisoóyi** in.: **nisoyimiau** an., **nisóiau** in. *they are four*, **namisooiau** in. *they are only four*. — Cf. **nis-** *four*.

Nisoótakina an. *Four-horns*, a man's name, obv. **-nai(i)**. [551]

nisotánni an. *my son-in-law's daughter*, pl. **nisotánniks**. [601]

192 **nisóyi** (nisoóyi), nisoái *four times.*

nist- (nists-), naiist- (naiists-), -ist- (-ists-) *two*: naiistoχtapinàmaχka *takes-gun-on-both-sides* (i.e. *anus*); naiistotopatsiixkiauàie *they sat on both sides of him*; nitsámistsitapiau *they were only two persons.* — Cf. **nistok-.**

nist- *one*, etc., used in certain modes instead of **nit-** *one.*

nistáinak v. **nitaina-.**

●[601] **nistámó** (nistamóa) an. *my brother-in-law*, obv. nistámói, pl. nistamóaiks; ostamói, ustamói *his (her) brother-in-law*, pl. ostamóiks, ustamóiks.

nistóa *I*, obv. nistói; nistoánnauk *I am the one.*

nistóakauk *myself.*

nistok- (-istok-), nistoki- (-istoki-) *two*: noχkátsistôkami *also two (horses)*; ǎχkaistokàmi *about two (fishes that are caught)*; namistokami *only two (prairie-chickens)*; namistokiau *only two (gambling-bones)*; nistôkiômoχpiisaists *if they* (in.) *turned over twice*; nistôkianàsisau *if they costed two (robes)*; nitsistokyànistsi *I did it twice.* — Cf. **nist-** *two.*

nistokianasiu *it costs two (robes).*

nistúnàn (nistúnàna) *we* (excl.), obv. nistúnàni.

nistsépiskan (nistsépiskani) in. *corral, horse-corral, fence*, pl. nistsépiskanists.

nistsépiskan-ǎχsipistan in. *gate in a fence or corral*, pl. nistsépiskan-ǎχsipistanists.

nistsepiskat- (-istsepiskat-) *to enclose with fence*: nitàiistsepiskatoχp *I fence it*, áiistsepiskatom *he fences it.*

nistsepiski- (-istsepiski-) *to have a fence, to have a horse-corral*: iiksistsepiskiu (*the enemy*) *has a very strong horse-corral.*

nit- (nits-) *I* (*me*): nitáinoau *I see him*; nitánik *he told me*; nitsipisi *when I entered*; nitáksipask *I shall dance.* — *we* (*us*) (excl.), in combination with certain suffixes: nitáinoanàn *we* (excl.) *see him*; nitsipisinan *when we* (excl.) *entered.* — *my*: nitákàu *my partner*; nitoχkéman *my wife*; nitómitàm *my dog*; nitsikiatsis *my whistle*; nitsinixkàsim *my name.* — *our* (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: nitoχkémanana *our* (excl.) *wife*; nitsinaiminàna *our* (excl.) *chief*; nitsistsipisimatsinàna *our* (excl.) *whip.* — Cf. **n-, ni-** *I*, **no-.**

nit- (nits-), -nit- (-nits-), -it- (-its-) *one, alone, only, the same, alike, real, really, all*, etc., cf. **nitóksk a.** — *one*: nitsitâpiu *one person*; nitoχkémiu *he had one wife*; nitsitànistsi *I did it once* (*one time*); ninitoχtoki *I have one ear*; ninitoχkatsi *I have one foot*; ninitotsii *I have one hand.* — *alone*: nitǎχtâuyiauaists, ki okósiks mâtoχtsoyiauaists *they ate of (those pieces) alone, but his children did not eat of them*; annóχk áskχsaitsitâupop *now we* (incl.) *are always living here alone*; áistamitsitapaukunaiixk *he then camped about alone*; nitsitauanistotsixp (also ninitauanistotsixp) *I am doing it alone*; kinitauto *you came alone.* — *only*: stámikiks omoχtâksisitapiixpi ánni nitáinitsiu (*the ancient people*) *only killed the bulls that they needed*; nitsisoyisoau *he is fed with only four things*; áitsauaipaskaii *they*

51: Uhlenbeck & Van Gulik L-4,5 (1910-1911) 1934
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nitápskinètsimàni in. *real bag*, pl. nitápskinètsimànists. 192
Nitásinni an. *Lone-praise*, a woman's name. There are some doubts about the correct form of this name. [551]
nitáuàke (nitáuàkeua), nitoáke (nitoákeua) an. *rooster*, obv. nitáuàke(i), nitoáke(i), pl. nitáuàkeks, nitoákeks (*lone-woman*).
Nitáuyake (-akeua) an. *woman belonging to the Lone-eaters*, pl. -akeks.
Nitáuyikoăn an. *man belonging to the Lone-eaters*, pl. -koaíks.
Nitáuyiks an. pl. *Lone-eaters*, a Peigan band.
nitákàu v. -akau.
nitánna an. *my daughter*, voc. nitánna, nitanni, nitanné, obv. nitánni, pl. nitánnaiks; otánni *his (her) daughter*, pl. otánniks. [601]
nitáskskamookinan an. *prefect* (in school) (*the-one-that-watches-us* excl.).
nitatáksiixpi istsimàtsii *one package of matches.*
nităχkanòàm (*the young men, before they entered an age-society*) *were going together.*
Nităχkina an. *Show-chief*, a man's name, obv. -nai(i). [551]
nito- (**nitni-**) *one*, etc., only a longer variant of nit- *one*. Examples: ánni nitoápiksimàists *in this way they threw them* (in.); matsóaiks nitúianistapsi *their leggings were just the same*; nitoaimó *it smells like*; kinetumoχkàuyàkixpuai (kinitomăχkàuyàkixpuai) *that you* (pl.) *are all with bloody mouths.* — Cf. nitóa.
nitóa, nitáyi, nituítsk *the same.* — Cf. nito-.
nitoáke v. nitáuàke.
nitóaχkauk *is the same.*
nitóauk *is the same*: nitóauk omá Nápiua, nitóauk ki omá Pomisa *the Old Man was the same, and that Fat was the same.*
nitók *one* v. kaiéu.
nitokímiu (nitukímiu) *he camps alone.*
nitókitsaksin in. *inch*, pl. nitókitsaksists.
nitókska *one* (simple form); nitókskam (nitókskama) an.; nitóksakau, nitóksakai in. The initial syllable ni- is often omitted. After a prefix we find -itoksks, -itokskam, -itoksakau, -itoksakai, e.g. mátaitoksksàm mátaitsanàsiau *they costed also another one* (i.e. *one robe*); ápaitokskami *sometimes one* (*jack-rabbit*). — Cf. niséa and nit- *one*.
nitóksksautakoχsin in. *one hour.*
nitoχkatsi- *to have one foot*: ninitoχkatsi *I have one foot.*
nitoχkéman an. *my wife*, pl. nitoχkémaiks; otoχkéman *his wife*, pl. otoχkémaiks. — áinitsiu ninóχkoχkoχkèmaiks *she kills the wives that I get.* [601]
nitoχkémiu *he has one wife.*
nitóχkoksists an. *my step-mother*, obv. nitóχkoksistsi, pl. nitóχkoksistaiks; otóχkoksistsi *his (her) step-mother*, pl. otóχkoksistsiks.
nitóχkoχkoa an. *my step-son*, obv. nitóχkoχkoi, pl. nitóχkoχkoaiks; otóχkoχkoi *his (her) step-son*, pl. otóχkoχkoiks.
nitóχkotanna an. *my step-daughter*, obv. nitóχkotanni, pl. nitóχkotannaiks; otóχkotanni *his (her) step-daughter*, pl. otóχkotanniks.

192 **nitóχkunna** an. *my step-father*, obv. nitóχkunni, pl. nitóχkunnaiks; otóχkûnni *his (her) step-father*, pl. otóχkûnniks.

[601] **nitoχtoki-** *to have one ear*: ninitoχtoki *I have one ear.*

nitóχtsi (-tsik, -tsim) *at the right hand.*

nitómâχkainam (an.) *he is bloody all over*, nitómâχkainatsiu (in.) *it is bloody all over.*

nitomâχkauyaki- *to be with one's mouth bloody all over, to be all with bloody mouths*: nitomâχkâuyakiau *they are all with bloody mouths*; nitomâχkâuyakiaiks *they were all with bloody mouths*; kinitomâχkâuyâkixpuai (*that*) *you are all with bloody mouths.*

[601] **nitótoχkèman** an. *my sister-in-law* (a man speaking), pl. nitótoχkèmaiks; otótoχkèman *his sister-in-law*, pl. otótoχkèmaiks.

nitotsi- *to have one hand*: ninitotsii *I have one hand.*

nitóyis (-itóyis) in. *tipi*, pl. nitóyists (*real lodge*).

nitsâinasiu (-itsa(i)nasiu) *it costs one (robe)*: nitsâinasiau *they costed one*; mâtaitsanâsiau *they costed also one.*

nitsaχkûtsisakô (*this is*) *the short gut* (that means: *the end of the story*).

nitsamanistoχkitau *he had his hair all cut off.*

Nitsápiâke (-âkeua) an. *French woman*, pl. -âkeks (*real white woman*).

nitsapikoa- (-itsapikoa-) v. nitsapikoaipuyi-.

nitsapikoaipuyi- (-itsapikoaipuyi-) *to speak French*: nitâitsapikoaipuyi *I speak French*, âitsapikoaipuyiu *he speaks French.*

Nitsápikoân an. *Frenchman*, pl. -koaiks (*real white man*).

nitsepuyi- (-itsepuyi-) *to speak Indian*: nitâitsepuyi *I speak Indian*, âitsepuyiu *he speaks Indian.*

nitsi- *to be really*: nitsiu *it really is*; ki ânniaie nitsiu âmoχk nitotômipisatâpsin *and thus really was this first wonderful experience of mine.* — Cf. nit- *one*, etc.

nitsíkepippo (-itsíkepippo) *one hundred* (simple form); nitsíkepippi an., nitsíkepippoyi in.; auâksopaiks natokianasiau noχketsíkepipiau *a hundred cartridges costed two (robes).*

nitsíkóputo *eleven* (simple form); nitsíkóputsi an., nitsíkóputoyi in.: nitsíkóputsiau an., nitsíkóputoiau in. *they are eleven.*

nitsíkóputoixtsau an., nitsíkóputoχtoχp in. *it costs eleven dollars.*

nitsíkóputoisopoksixtsau an., nitsíkóputoisopoksôχtoχp in. *it costs eleven dollars.*

nitsiksímatsu amâia ixkanâχpoksomiuaie maâχsiks *I wish very much to be with those people who went to war with their mothers-in-law.*

nitsíxkauau an. *my tribe, my band*, otsíxkauai *his tribe, his band*, otsíxkauaiks *the men belonging to his tribe (his war-companions).* — Cf. mâtoχkuíixkauayiu.

nitsinamauχtakoâie v. auχtako-.

nitsinân *mine*; nitsinânists *my things.*

nitsinânan *ours* (excl.).

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niuókskotakoχsin in. *three hours.*

no- *my*: **noχkóa** *my son*; **nókos** *my child*; **nóχpssi** *my arrow*; **nótsètsi** *my mitten*; **nomâukaiis** *my breast.* — *our* (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: **noχkúnàna** *our* (excl.) *son*; **nókósinàna** *our* (excl.) *child*; **nokûnàna** *our* (excl.) *home.* — Forms as **nómoχtsitôto** *I came along there*, **nómoχtàtotomaχk** *I ran back with it*, are no good Blackfoot. — Cf. **n-**, **ni-**, **nit-** *I.*

nóaàki v. **niuaàki.**

noátoχs v. **niskáni.**

nokóa in. *my home, my lodge*, **okóai** *his home, his lodge*; **âistoχkim okóaii** (the text has **âistoχkimokoaie**) *he came close to his lodge*; **otàkoko-auàists** *their future lodges*; **kokúnun matsipûmapiu, âχkauaàkomètsis** *our* (incl.) *lodge is not* (so) *good, that we* (incl.) *should love it.* — Cf. **-oki-** *lodge*, **-oko-** *lodge.*

nókos (**nókósa**) an. *my child*, pl. **nókósiks**; **ókos** *his child*, pl. **ókósiks**; **ki itáskokskàsin okós** *and her colt* (prop. *child*) (4 p.) *ran back*; **nitoχ-kanâukos** *they are all my children*; **âmôi skí'ma otoχkánàukôs âmom ónokâ-mitàsin** *these horses are all children of this mare.* — Cf. **ikòsiu**, **-okos-.**

nóχk *my bucket* v. **isk** *bucket.*

noχk- (**noχks-**), **-oχk-** (**-oχks-**) *to be sure, it is true, though, however, at least, somehow, please.* Often it is difficult to render this prefix in a proper way. In general we can say that it has a concessive value. In non-initial position we usually find **-oχk-** (**-oχks-**), but even there the form with **n-** is by no means rare. The following examples are semantically arranged: **amóistsiaie, kâχkakoχkosixpixk** (the text has: **kâχkakχosixpixk**) *these are the things that you can boil, to be sure*; **nákoχkoχkèmatau** *that I want to marry her, to be sure*; **ninóχkakaii** *I have them as partners, to be sure*; **onóχkitotuisapinàus** *whom she dressed like, to be sure*; **namóχkitaisaiepitsit** *be just telling lies* (*though you may be just telling lies*); **namóχkitaipuyit** *be just talking* (*though you may be just talking*); **mâtsitoχkotakiuats** *he got nothing, however*; **noχkiksistapiists** *the choice parts at least*; **nitoχkó-koaisimiskàn** *I got belly-fat at least*; **noχkoχkôkit ixtâχpumâupi** *give me money, please*; **noχkânnoχkatsatsisàu** *now you must take care of them* (an.), *please*; **noχkátsimât** *give an invitation, please*; **noχksisokîk** *give* (pl.) *me to eat, please*; **noχksíkimmokit** *pity me, please*, **noχkóχtokit** *hear me, please*: **noχksíkiakiatskôkit** *make me a trap, please.* — Cf. **noχkoi-.**

noχkanist- (**noχkanists-**), **-oχkanist-** (**-oχkanists-**) *according to, however*; **ninóχkanistoχtsimâtaχpi** *the way I heard about them*; **ninóχkanistsksinoaiau** (*that is all*) *according to how I know about them*; **kinêtoχkanistaiàkàinoau** *you will always see him, accordingly, however.*

noχkánoχkatsatsisàu *you must take care of them* (an.).

noχkät- (**noχkäts-**), **-oχkät-** (**-oχkäts-**) *also*: **noχkátâχkanàisoo** *they came also all to the shore*; **noχkátakapinausiu** *whoever has also a new way of dressing*; **noχkátsistoka.ni** *also two* (an.); **noχkátanistsinokêtakiu** *he was also glad just the same*; **noχkátanistoχkotsiu** *he also gave* (*the holy*

192 *things*) *to him*: áχkoχkatsitsinoau *that we* (incl.) *can see him also.*

noχkat- v. noχkăt-.

noχkétsi (noχkitsi), noχkétsim (noχkitsim) *different.* — Cf. noχketsi- *different* and noχketsi- *to transform oneself.*

noχketsi- (noχkitsi-), -oχketsi- (-oχkitsi-); noχkets- (noχkits-), -oχkets- (-oχkits-) *different*: noχkétsitapi *people belonging to another tribe* (*different people*); noχketsitotoiau *at last* (*differently*) *came there* (*the rabbits*); noχkétsipuyìau *they stood separately* (*differently*); átoχketsinausatsìuaíks *he again changed his appearance to them* (*he again made his appearance different to them*); aióχketsinausiua *he was changing his appearance* (*he made his appearance different*). — Cf. noχkétsi.

noχketsi- (-oχketsi-) *to transform oneself*: áχkunòχketsop *let us* (incl.) *transform ourselves.*

noχketsinaus- (-oχketsinaus-) *to change one's own appearance*: áiòχketsinausiu *he changes his appearance*, átoχketsinausatsìuaíks *he again changed his appearance to them.*

noχketsinoχsi- (-oχketsinoχsi-) *to transform oneself*: nitáioχketsinoχsi *I transform myself*, áioχketsinoχsiu *he transforms himself.*

noχketsipuyi- *to stand separately*: noχkétsipuyìau *they stood separately.*

[551] **Noχkétsiso** (-soa) an. *Different-cut-woman*, a woman's name, obv. -soi.

noχketsistot- (-oχketsistot-) *to transform*: nitáioχketsistotoau *I transform him*, áioχketsistotoyiu *he transforms him*; nitáioχketsistotsixp *I transform it*, áioχketsistotsim *he transforms it.*

noχkétsitapì (-tapìua) an. *people belonging to another tribe*, pl. -tapìks.

noχkétsitapìake (-akeua) an. *woman belonging to another tribe*, pl. -akeks.

noχkétsitapikoăn an. *man belonging to another tribe*, pl. -koaíks.

noχkítsi v. noχkétsi.

[551] **Nóχkitsoake** (-akeua) an. *Good-looking-woman*, a woman's name, obv. -ake(i).

[601] **noχkóa** an. *my son*, voc. noχkoii, noχkoié, obv. noχkói, pl. noχkóaiks; oχkói *his* (*her*) *son*, pl. oχkóiks.

noχkoi- (noχkui-), -oχkoi- (-oχkui-) *to be sure, it is true, somehow*, etc. This prefix has the same semantic value as noχk-, from which it is derived. Examples: nitoχkóinàniks (*the dollars*) *I had got, to be sure*; mátoχkoisauamiua Okínau *there is no denying, to be sure, that it is Breast-chief*; nimátoχkoiákoχkinàuats *I had, to be sure, no means to rein him*; nimátatoχkoíkamotsiauaíks *there was no chance any more, to be sure, that I should let them escape*; sotámatoχkoíkaχtsìau *then they had, to be sure, another game*; ámoχkaie nitsistsitoχkoisksinixp pisátapiu nitsápsin nitsitapisin *this is, to be sure, what I know to be the first wonderful thing I have seen in my life-time*; ki ánniaie itoχkúiniu omá kipitákeu *and that is the way that that old woman died, to be sure*; itoχkóìistapspixtsinai (*the bird*) (4 p.) *then went up higher somehow.*

[551] **Noχkoχkísake** (-akeua) an. *Has-nose-woman*, a woman's name, obv. -ake(i).

noχkoχtsíkaisai: annóm íkúnaiiudm noχkoχtsíkaisai *give part of them to the people camping hereabout.* 192

noχksta- (**-oχksta-**) *to wish*: nitáioχkst *I wish*, noχkstáu *he wishes.* — Cf. **ista-** *to think.*

noχkni- v. **noχkoi-**.

noχt- (**noχts-**) *from, for, with*, etc. Examples: noχtástokoχkóyiu *from (that) they (sing.) got plenty to eat*; kinoχtáksipaskàχpi *that you might dance for*; noχtátsimistaiau *with (those) they made the counters*; tsistsiá noχtsipaχpákixpa (= ninoχtsipaχpákixpa) *with which (pl. in.) shall I brush*; nóχtauauaiakiok (= ninóχtauauaiakiok) mistsís *he hits me with a stick.* — Cf. **ixt-**, **moχt-**.

noχtátsimistaiau: ánniksiaie noχtátsimistaiau *with those (an.) they made the counters.*

nóma an. *my husband*, ómi *her husband.* [601]

nomápis v. **mámapis.**

nomísaa in. *my wood, my fire-wood.*

-nopáni v. **ponopáni.**

nópánni (**nópánni**) v. **ópánni.**

Nosí (**Nosíua**) an. *Rosie*, obv. Nosí(i). [551]

nótás an. *my beast, my horse*, pl. nótásiks; ótás *his beast, his horse*, pl. ótásiks. — Cf. **-otas-**.

notoán v. **istoán.**

noyínau an. *my male relation* (a woman speaking), obv. noyínai, pl. noyínaiks; oyínai *her male relation*, pl. oyínaiks. [601]

númnátsis v. **manátsis.**

Núyí (**Núyíua**) an. (French) *Louis*, obv. Núyí(i). [551]

nuyínau v. **noyínau.**

ómaχkopànni in. (?) *big arrow.*

-ómaχkotànna an. *eldest daughter,* nitómaχkotanna *my eldest daughter,* obv. nitómaχkotanni; otómaχkotànni *his eldest daughter.*

ómaχkotoiòpaists in. pl. *rye-grass.*

O'maχkòtsimyotaki (-kiua) an. *Takes-big-sorrel-horse,* a man's name, obv. -ki(i) (Blood Indian).

O'maχksàpop (-sàpopa) an. *Big-plume,* a man's name, obv. -sàpopi.

ómaχksikàinaiskina an. *rat,* obv. -skinai(i), pl. -skinaiks (*big-mouse*).

O'maχksikèsùm an. *Big-moon,* a man's name.

ómaχksiketòki (-ketòkiua) an. *turkey,* obv. -ketòki(i), pl. -ketòkiks (*big-prairie-chicken*).

ómaχksikixsipikokàup in. *big-striped-lodge.*

ómaχksikimi in. *lake,* pl. ómaχksikimists (*big-water*).

ómaχksiksim an. *big tree, big log, log,* pl. ómaχksiksimiks.

O'maχksiksiksstaki (-kiua) an. *Big-beaver,* a man's name, obv. -ki(i).

ómaχksikskimioχkòs an. *pan,* pl. ómaχksikskimioχkòsiks (*big-metal-vessel*).

ómaχksiksiso (-kui, -kuyi) in. *big timber, forest of big trees* (collective), pl. ómaχksiksknists.

ómaχksinan (-inaua) an. *great chief,* obv. -inai(i), pl. -inaiks.

ómaχksini in. *raisin,* pl. ómaχksinists (*big-berry*).

O'maχksinistàmi an. *Big-lodge-pole,* a man's name.

ómaχksinokâmita (-taua) an. *big horse, stallion,* obv. -tai(i), pl. -taiks.

omaχksis- *to feed a big meal:* ki átomaχksisòaiau miniśukaki *and they were also fed a big meal of berry-pemmican.*

O'maχksistamik (-stamikà) an. *Big-bull,* a certain white man's Indian name, obv. -stamik(i).

O'maχksistòaiks an. pl. *the Americans of the U.S.A.* (*those-who-have-big-knives*).

ómaχksistòân (ómaχksistòan) an. *big knife, butcher-knife,* pl. ómaχksistòaiks.

O'maχksistòan (-istòana) an. *Big-knife,* a man's name, obv. -istòan(i).

ómaχksistsèksina an. *rattle-snake,* obv. -nai(i), pl. -naiks (*big-snake*): omaχkástseksinàiinai *he* (4 p.) *was a rattle-snake.*

O'maχksistsèksinàikoân an. *Big-snake,* a man's name. — *the Big-snake-man,* a mythical rattle-snake-person.

ómaχksistsipanikimi (-miua) an. *a kind of hawk,* obv. -mi(i), pl. -miks.

O'maχksistsipanikimi (-miua) an. *Sparrow-hawk,* a man's name, obv. -mi(i).

ómaχksitsitsipanikimi (-kimiua) an. *a kind of hawk,* obv. -kimi(i), pl. -kimiks. This word is somewhat doubtful.

ómaχkskèpippo *thousand* (simple form): ómaχkskèpippi an., ómaχkskèpippoyi in. (*a big hundred*).

ómaχkskim an. *big rock,* pl. ómaχkskimiks.

ómaχkskimikokàup in. *big-rock-lodge.*

-omatskaχtaksini an. and in. *present*; otómatskaχtaksiks an. pl. *his presents*; otómatskaχtaksists in. pl. *his presents*. 192

ómauk is a verbalized form of ómá.

-omaupat- v. amaupat-.

-omaupi- v. amaupi-.

omaχk- v. omaχk-.

ománaukoauaiima in. *their new home*: omima ománaukoauaiima *that was their new home*.

ománòmi an. *her new husband*. [601]

-omáχkauyaki- v. máχkauyaki-.

-omáχksikimska- v. aumáχksikimska-.

omáχt- v. moχt-.

ómi *her husband* v. nóma. [601]

ómí, ómim, ómik *that there* v. omá.

omi- *to have a husband, to marry (of a woman)*: nitòmi *I have a husband, I marry*, ómiu *she has a husband, she marries*; itáutoiomiop *they came to marry him* (lit. *they came there to marry*). — Cf. omat- *to marry*.

-omi- *plainly (separately?)*: nitomiainoyiuaiks *he saw them* (an.) *plainly*.

ómiaie is a verbalized form of ómi (v. omá).

-omiannist- (omianists-) *different*: támomyanistàinimiàu *then they cut it to different pieces*; kanáuomianistsinàtsiaii *they* (in.) *were all of different colours*. — Cf. myanist- and amiánistsiau.

-omianistain- *to cut to different pieces*: támomyanistàinimiàu *then they cut it to different pieces*.

-omianistsinatsi- *to be of different colours* (in.): okúyistsaii kanáuomianistsinàtsiaii *his feathers were all of different colours*.

ómiauk is a verbalized form of ómi (v. omá).

ómíisk v. ómáχk.

omík *then long ago*; omík apatóχtsik *then in the olden times*; ákai-Pekámiua omík akóχtsi apátoχsoχtsi ánnyaie otáuaχsin *the country of the ancient Peigans was long ago very far north*. — V. also ómá.

omíkaki- *to lift up one leg*: nitákitomíkàki *I shall lift up one of my legs*; itsitomíkàkiu *he then lifted up a leg*.

omíkátsimàn *its falling on the edge* (used of gambling-bones).

omíkoχsi- *to throw out a leg in front*: otsitomíkoχs *that he threw out a leg in front*.

omíksk- in omíksksáuauatskòs *you must not stir him*.

ómíkskauki is a verbalized form of ómíksi an. pl. (v. omá).

ómíxk v. ómáχk.

-omixka- v. amixka-.

-omixkàni v. amixkàni.

-omixkátsis v. amixkátsis.

ómim *there*. — V. also ómá.

ómímaie is a verbalized form of ómim (v. omá).

ómímauk is a verbalized form of ómim (v. omá).

Unistásammi (-sammiua) an. *Calf-looking*, a man's name, obv. -sammi(i). [192]
únistsi *his (her) elder sister* v. ninista.
unistsí *his travoy* v. manistsí. [551]
-unistsi- *to have the travoy*: ponokâmitai itâiâkunistsiu *they* (grammatically a singular) *would put the travoy on a horse*; ixtâχkanaiautaχkosiu imitâiks unistsiuaiks (*the people*) *all went after the carcases with the dogs' travois* (prop. *with the dogs having the travois*). [601]
únnasina (únnaisina) an. *men* (collective).
unnat- (unnats-) *few*: unnatsitapi *few people*; unnatókimiu *there are few in a camp* (grammatically a singular). — Cf. unnátoχsimi.
unnatókimiu *there are few in a camp* (grammatically a singular): ákai-Pekáni unnatókimiua *there were few of the ancient Peigans in a camp.*
unnátoχsimi an., unnátoysi in. *few*. — Cf. unnat-.
unnatsitapi (unnatsitapiua) an. *few people*, obv. unnatsitapi(i).
unnátstsau an., unnátstoχp, unnátoχtoχp in. *is cheap* (prop. *costs little*).
-unnaut- (-unnauts-) *to be hungry* v. aunot- (same meaning).
unnétoχki an. *her real pot.*
únni *his father* v. ninna. [601]
unni- *to have a father*: nitúnni *I have a father*, únniu *he has a father*; sákiunniu, sákioksistsiu *she has still a father, she has still a mother.*
únnikiauχpomi in. *cheese.*
únnikis in. *teat*, pl. únnikists.
-unnim- *to have as a father* (*for father*): nitúnnimau, nitâunimau *I have him as a father*, âunimiu *he has him as a father.*
unnitoχki v. unnétoχki.
-unnot- (-unnots-) *to be hungry* v. aunot- (same meaning).
únstsi v. ninista.
-upam- v. apam-.
ú'si (úsi) v. ní'sa.
úsi v. nís.
-úsi- *to have for son-in-law*: omâ ninau áiûsiua *the man that had him for son-in-law.*
-úsim- *to have for a son-in-law*: nitáiûsimmau *I have him for a son-in-law*, áiûsimmiu *he has him for a son-in-law.*
úskàsiks an. pl. *her husband's younger wives.* [601]
uskáni v. niskáni.
-uskanim- *to have for a younger brother* (only used of men): osótamaiûskanimokâiks *they then had him for a younger brother.*
ustamói v. nistámó.
-ustsika- (-ustsixka-) v. -istsika- *shoulder.*
utaki- (utakat-) *to measure* (with a vessel): nitútaki *I measure*, útakiu *he measures*; nitútakatoχp *I measure it*, útakatom *he measures it.*
Utsémi an. *Guts'-woman*, a woman's name. [551]
utsi in. *gut*, pl. utsists. — Cf. -utsi-.
-utsi- *guts*: isapútsists (isapótsists) *Crow-guts*; ánni (ánniaie) nitsaχ-

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159 there. I had a strange feeling about the man, but my father
796 said that I had better go up and see what he wanted, so I filled
756 a pipe with tobacco and climbed the hill. When I saw all the goods that were piled up there, I knew that the Thunder Medicine Man must indeed have painted many people.

I presented the pipe to the Thunder Medicine Man, and we smoked it together, and then the man spoke. He told me that it was not good that there should be more than one Medicine Lodge. He said that I should tell my father (he used the term, "our father") that he must use his influence as chief to convince the people that the Medicine Lodge at Old Agency should be taken down immediately and that all the people should come up and join in the Sun Dance at Starr School. I told him that he had better discuss such important matters directly with my father, and he agreed to accompany me down to my father's lodge.

In my father's lodge we smoked another pipe, and then the Thunder Medicine Man spoke to my father—but instead of addressing him as "father" he called him "mother." [I don't know why the Chief should have considered this point worthy of
[601 mention. The North Blackfoots address both father and mother
[197 with the same term, *na-áh*. The Piegan word for father is *nín-nah*, the term for mother being *nik-tsís-tah*, and although the Piegans sometimes use the North Blackfoot word, *na-áh*, in reference to mother, they never use it in reference to father.]
[793 He said, "Mother, you must tell the Holy Woman down at Old Agency that there must be only one Medicine Lodge and only one encampment, and that the Medicine Lodge must be over here." My father said that he would do this immediately, and he sent Yellow Wolf to Old Agency to tell the people to move their encampment and to tell the Holy Woman to have the Medicine Lodge taken down.

But the people would not listen to Yellow Wolf, so my father went in person to talk to them. When my father had left, the Thunder Medicine Man said something that nearly caused me to lose consciousness. First he filled a pipe and smoked it with
[787 me, and then he said, "I have seen Thunder [Thunder had appeared to him in a dream in human form] and he looks exactly like you. I have promised to sell the Thunder Lodge to Iron Pipe, and for two weeks I have waited for Iron Pipe to appear. I will wait for another two weeks, and if Iron Pipe has not come to claim the lodge, the Thunder Lodge shall be yours."